





Methodist Episcopal Church  
Cincinnati, Ohio

DEBATE

ON

“MODERN ABOLITIONISM,”

IN THE

GENERAL CONFERENCE

OF THE

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

HELD IN CINCINNATI,

May, 1836.

WITH NOTES.

CINCINNATI:

PUBLISHED FOR THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,  
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The *First* and *Third* parts of the following pamphlet were prepared for publication, by the editor of the *Philanthropist*, assisted by a friend who attended the sessions of the General Conference, whenever Abolition, in any form, was the subject of discussion. When the editor and his friend were both present, they, both, with a single exception, took brief notes of what was said by the different speakers. It is believed, there was no material discrepancy in their notes. Sometimes, but one of them being present, reliance was, of necessity, placed, singly, on his notes.

The Sketch here given of the discussions is believed to be in the main, as accurate as such sketches usually are. Whilst, in many instances, the fierce and reprehensible language of the slave-holding members, and of others who supported their side of the question, is given *in the words they used*, great care has been taken to guard against any exaggeration of what would do them the smallest injury. Influenced by this temper, where neither the notes, nor the memory of those who took them, could be entirely relied on—the words of the speaker have not unfrequently been reduced from, what is believed to have been, their original offensiveness. In addition to this, an assurance, clothed in friendly and respectful terms, was publicly given by the editor of the *Philanthropist*, that any error into which he might have fallen in his Report, would—when pointed out—be corrected;—and that he would publish fuller reports, than he had given, of the speeches, if it should please the speakers to furnish him with them.

Notwithstanding the confidence entertained by the publishers in the general accuracy of the Reports, as published in the *Philanthropist*, it is but fair to notify to the public, that the editor of that print—whilst quietly sitting as a spectator of the proceedings of the General Conference—was charged to his face, by some of the speakers, with “ungentlemanly” conduct *in having reported the first debate*; was called an “incendiary”—“the vilest miscreant,” &c. &c., that a motion was made (though not put to the vote) in effect, to exclude him

from the house, because, *he had already made one Report*, and was *then taking notes, to enable him to make another*;—that the Philanthropist was spoken of in the hottest terms of southern invective—and the Report itself characterised, in general terms, as *false, garbled, incendiary, &c. &c.* However, so far as is yet known, no instance of inaccuracy, sufficiently material to call for correction, has been specified. Mr. Winans, in sustaining the resolution against Mr. Scott, referred to the report of his speech in the Philanthropist, for the purpose of correcting, by its superior accuracy, what he considered a mis-statement of Mr. Scott. Whilst he was not called on, by the course of his remarks to speak of the report of his speech *as a whole*—what he said was commendatory of its correctness, in the part especially referred to.

Mr. Crowder acknowledged in the presence of the editor, that *his* speech was fairly and accurately reported in the Philanthropist, with the exception of a single instance, where he thought the form of expression ambiguous. Even this, he did not think of sufficient importance to call for formal correction.

The Second part of this pamphlet is the production of Mr. Orange Scott, of the New-England Conference. To him also are the publishers indebted for a revision, (in the *Third* part) of most of his remarks, made in defending himself against the charge embodied in the Resolution of Messrs Winans and Stamper.

It becomes us to say, however, that the revision was somewhat hasty, inasmuch as Mr. Scott was hurried by the approach of the period for the adjournment of Conference. We state this, not because either he or the publishers believe there is any material inaccuracy in his speech as reported, but to explain, why the report of it is not so full as might be desired.

## FIRST PART.

*General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

### DEBATE.

May 12. This morning, Mr. Roszell, of the Baltimore Conference, introduced (with some slight amendments,) the following preamble and resolutions. "Whereas, great excitement has pervaded this country on the subject of modern abolitionism, which is reported to have been increased in this city recently, by the unjustifiable conduct of two members of the General Conference in lecturing upon, and in favor of that agitating topic;—and whereas, such a course on the part of any of its members is calculated to bring upon this body the suspicion and distrust of the community, and misrepresent its sentiments in regard to the point at issue;—and whereas, in this aspect of the case, a due regard for its own character, as well as a just concern for the interests of the church confided to its care, demand a full, decided and unequivocal expression of the views of the General Conference in the premises—Therefore,

1. *Resolved*,—By the delegates of the annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, that they disapprove in the most unqualified sense, the conduct of the two members of the General Conference, who are reported to have lectured in this city recently, upon, and in favor of, modern abolitionism.

2. *Resolved*,—By the delegates of the annual Conferences in General Conference assembled,—that they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, wish or intention, to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slaveholding states of this Union.

[The following statement will serve to explain the particular occasion which gave rise to the first resolution. A regular weekly meeting of the Cincinnati A. S. Society was held on the preceding Tuesday evening. At this, Mr. Storrs and Mr. Norris, of New England, members of the General Conference, and well known as abolitionists, were present. They, each, made some remarks which were very well received—and the result was, the addition of fifteen members to the society.—ED. PHIL.]

The character of the resolutions, the circumstances, which occasioned them, together with the stern gravity of Mr. Roszell, produced no little excitement. "The blood of the south-erns was up," as the phrase is. Many violent, denunciatory

things were said by them, which, inasmuch as we have no notes we shall not attempt to repeat. Some amendments were proposed. One moved by Mr. Wright, Book Agent of the Church in Cincinnati, was, that the *number* of individuals alluded to in the preamble be specified, that the public might see to how small an extent the Conference was chargeable with such conduct. His amendment was adopted and the number *two* inserted. Still, the delicacy of the Conference was unsatisfied; more was to be done to conciliate public favor, and clear itself from so odious an act. Somebody—we are unable to name the person—moved that the first resolution should be amended, by inserting the names of the guilty individuals. Much discussion ensued hereupon. It was thought by some, that such a measure, if adopted, would subject the offending brethren to no little danger. Their persons might be assailed—Lynch law put in operation. It was at all events needlessly severe. Others insisted that, the Conference ought to be relieved entirely from the odium of such conduct—that public censure should be located just where it was merited—that the individuals, themselves, would, no doubt, feel honored by such notoriety, &c. Rev. Mr. Sorin, of the Philadelphia Conference, was, if we remember aright, particularly desirous that this amendment should be passed. Rev. Mr. Smith, of Richmond, Virginia, advocated it strenuously. This gentleman rose under great excitement and spoke most vehemently. We remember explicitly one of his sayings—uttered with sounding emphasis. Speaking of the propriety of designating the offending brethren—“*Let them,*” said he “*be brought forth in all the length and breadth of their DAMNING INIQUITY.*”

The amendment was lost, we believe, by a considerable majority.

The Conference after agreeing to hold an extra session, at three in the afternoon, adjourned. All the while the resolutions were under discussion, great excitement prevailed. Speakers were abundant, two or three claiming the floor at the same time; and no space was left for the brethren accused, much less for a single abolitionist, to speak a word.

The Conference met agreeably to order in the afternoon, and the same scene was re-enacted for the space, we believe, of an hour or more; when, at length, Rev. Mr. Scott, of the New England Delegation, obtained the floor. We forbore taking any notes of this gentleman's speech. There were no less than four several attempts or more, to put him down, by out-of-place calls to order, but he was each time sustained by the chair. We cannot fail to express our admiration of the coolness and self-possession of Mr. Scott, under so vexatious and embarrassing circumstances.



## AFTERNOON SESSION.

After the reading of the resolutions and the amendments which had been offered in the morning—

Mr. Light, of Missouri, moved to refer the whole to a Committee, to report in the morning. He thought the proceedings in which they were engaged were of great importance; that they ought to be acted upon without undue excitement. He thought the state of feeling already too high for that deliberate action which was called for. He knew of brethren, who had made up their opinions on Abolition—who would be willing to speak out on it boldly in its condemnation, who yet could not subscribe to every expression of the resolution.

Mr. Leigh, of Virginia, opposed the reference. He feared that more time would be consumed in arguing this incidental motion, than ought to be consumed on the main question.

Mr. Grant, of New York, was in favor of the reference. It was too late to say, there were not two sides to this question. The abolitionists had unhappily taken that, which was most effectual for the disturbance of the church. He had made it daily the subject of earnest prayer. He yet believed, that some means, satisfactory and safe, could be adopted. He could not find it in his heart to grind the abolitionists down. He was not disposed to say they were less honest than himself—or, he than they. He had, also, a good opinion of the brethren from the slave-holding states. It would be no advantage to the brethren in the slave-holding states, to have the question determined in the manner contemplated by the resolutions, or to wound the feelings of the brethren from the North. It was, by far, the most important measure, that had ever been before the General Conference. He desired it should be settled, so that there should be produced an entire reciprocity of feeling in the members living in the North and South. He could not suppose, that any thing else was desirable to the brethren. He said this in reference to the twofold cause of excitement known to exist. First, the misrepresentations which had been made of the South, in the treatment of their slaves, and the manner in which slave-holders had been held up before the world, in the “pictorial representations,” so prodigally distributed by the abolitionists: Secondly, the misrepresentations to which the Abolitionists had been subjected, as to their motives, designs and ultimate objects. Whilst he disapproved of any language which was not conciliatory toward these who differed from him, yet he was an anti-abolitionist, and an advocate for any measure for putting an end to every thing, that would retard or interrupt our Zion.

Mr. Roszel, of Maryland, (the mover of the resolutions,) spoke with much spirit in opposition to the reference. He had on

a former occasion, attended a Camp Meeting—some disorderly persons came to disturb the congregation. The disturbers were reasoned with, mildly and kindly—their reply was rough and insolent—“you must not hurt our feelings—nor touch our characters—nor wound our honor—nor assail our rights,” &c., whilst these same trespassers, did not hesitate to wound the feelings, and trample on the rights, of the five hundred or thousand persons making up the congregation. Of such a character was the conduct of the abolitionists.

He would not call in question the motives of any brother—he would not say that any abolitionist entertained a bad motive, in urging on this *miserable* and agitating subject—which had disturbed the whole work committed to the charge and placed under the care of the Methodists, on this continent, more than any other question that had arisen. But whilst he did this, he was not one of those who would use *butter and honey* with them. He would take a strong and decided course with the abolitionists. Nothing else would do for such people. For they had pledged themselves in the most sacred and solemn manner to prosecute their object; and they seemed by their earnestness, to think they were doing God service. He felt satisfied that no language in the resolutions was any too strong for them. It was due not only to the General Conference, but to the citizens of this place, and the people elsewhere, to reprobate what they had done, and what they were doing, in the strongest terms—the stronger the language employed the safer the course.

The public already know the sentiments of this Conference—that it was strenuously opposed to abolition. *A milk and water course*, would not do. It would be almost as well to say nothing as not to speak in the strongest language of reprobation. He would not boast of what he had done in former days—nor would he speak, now, of what had been his opinions and his efforts on the subject of slavery in by-gone times. They were known to all. His opinions had undergone no change.

[Mr. Roszell, probably had in his mind, his strenuous and uncompromising course, a short time back, against slave-holders. We have been informed, that, till lately, he was a thorn in the side of slave-holders—and in all ecclesiastical meetings, conferences, &c. among the foremost in assaulting what he then seemed to consider, as the crying iniquity of the church.—ED. PHIL.]

Whilst he entertained them, he could not but look with entire reprobation on the doings of the abolitionists, those disturbers of the whole country who were fixing the yoke more firmly on the neck of the slave—who were injuring and distracting the churches—and destroying the souls of the slaves,

by hindering the access which they had heretofore had to them, so long as they (the Methodist Ministers,) had been identified, in no measure, with the abolitionists. Let this General Conference, said Mr. R. only come out on this subject—let every man in it, speak out boldly in opposition to abolition; and one hundred times more good would be done by the Methodist Church in relation to this subject, than she had ever yet done, and no church would occupy a higher place in Christendom than she.

He professed not to be unduly warm or excited by the subject under discussion. Nevertheless, the brethren who attended the abolition meeting had brought on the General Conference, severe and injurious reflection. The citizens knew all about it, and there was a great excitement among them. He had been told, since the adjournment of the forenoon, that they knew the individuals who had acted so improperly, as members of the General Conference, in attending the abolition meeting. Here Mr. Roszell threw out a strong intimation, that there might probably be some personal danger to the guilty individuals, in walking the streets—so exasperated, had he been persuaded, were the citizens against them. He further said, that *he* knew them, and that if it was denied, he could prove, who they were—he could furnish the Conference testimony, conclusive too, of their having lectured at the abolition meeting. Their lecturing indeed was publicly talked of in the city—every body knew it. Besides this, he knew, and he could prove, that the abolitionists, belonging to the conference had, by no means, confined themselves to lecturing publicly on this agitation subject—but they had been lecturing privately, and repeatedly bringing it up in conversation with individuals. They seemed indeed to be fearless of all consequences. They had introduced their petitions here, signed by great numbers—many of whom were woman and girls. Whether even *their* names were properly to the petitions, and whether some of them were not children at the breast, he would not assume on himself to say. He had once heard of a dead man's name, being signed to an important paper—the pen having been put into his hand, and directed by the hand of the living man. But would *they* mention the numbers who had signed memorials and petitions in favor of abolition? Had *he* tried to obtain petitions against it, there would have been not 10 or 20, but 500,000.—In conclusion, why refer the resolutions, said Mr. R? They were right in principle, and sufficiently respectful in language. He hoped, they would not be referred, but be acted on with that promptitude which the nature of the case and the state of public opinion, demanded.

Mr. Clarke of New York, spoke in favor of the reference. He did not hesitate to say, he disapproved of what was in-

tended to be censured. Yet, he thought that the resolutions, in their present form, embraced more than the circumstances of the case before them, called for. It was very desirable, that unanimity should be arrived at, as nearly as possible. The resolutions, as they stood, would not, he apprehended, pass with that unanimity, which was necessary to give them their full effect. It was our wish, to satisfy the community around us—the American community—the Methodist connexion that this Conference disapproved of abolitionism. To do this, with full effect, as near an approach as possible to unanimity was greatly to be desired.

He regarded the southern brethren very highly. We [of the north,] had been much misrepresented to them—as more averse to the south, than was true. He was happy in becoming more intimately acquainted with the brethren in slaveholding States. He had begun to find on hearing their views more fully, that we were not so far apart as had been supposed. They had explained a great many misrepresentations of the state of things, connected with slavery, in the South. [will Mr. C. state what some of them are.—ED. PHIL.] They had, to be sure, their peculiar views in relation to slavery, yet it was found, that mutual explanations had a strong tendency to bring them nearer together, as brethren. He could not but be aware of the difficulties in which the brethren of the south, were placed—he felt for them—yet, he trusted, this would interpose no obstacle to that unanimous action which was so greatly to be desired.

Mr. Paine, of Alabama—Began his remarks, by suggesting the propriety of exemption from every thing that partook of passion in the discussion of a subject, containing in itself, such strong element of excitement. He intended to observe this temper himself—not to be unduly moved. The SOUTH, indeed, had, thus far, shown herself, calm, silent, unaggressive—and he doubted not, she would continue to be so. He was proceeding to answer an objection taken by some one, who had preceded him, (Mr. Clarke, we believe, as to the power of the General Conference, to pass a censure, such as was demanded by the resolution—saying it had been gravely denied, that the General Conference possessed that power. He spoke with no suppressed animation, saying—and can't it be possible, that such authority can be denied to the General Conference—the highest tribunal of the Church—having control over the whole Church—to censure the conduct of its own members, when that became offensive—*criminal*? [Here Mr. P., was called to order, by Mr. Sanford, of New York, on the ground, that such epithets, ought not to be used against brethren.]

Mr. P., spoke of the excited state of feeling, which existed in this city, against the two brethren, who had attended

the abolition meeting. He had been asked for their names—he refused to give them, out of regard for their safety. The indignation at their course, was felt by the whole community. He believed, it would meet the disapprobation of all the members in the Conference. [Mr. Scott, said audibly, “NOT ALL.”]

It was but the other day, brethren had said, they were aware of the condition of things at the South. But what has been doing, and to what purposes are Methodist ministers converting their office? Are not itinerant preachers carrying about with them petitions for the abolition of slavery in the Dist. of Columbia? Do they not employ themselves in obtaining subscribers to memorials to Conferences on the same subject—and in lecturing to Abolition Societies all over the land? Where are we, sir? asked Mr. Paine, I am glad, sir, we are in the State of Ohio. And even here, in this free state, what would be the consequence, if an abolition meeting were now advertised to be held at the Court-House in this City? If such a thing were projected, even here, you would see the indignant crowd, gathering in the streets, and presenting a dark and dense mass, making its way to the appointed place, to pour out its vengeance on those, who might be rash enough to engage in such a scheme.

It would seem, sir, that nothing can cure them, [the abolitionists,]—they stop at nothing—still they persist, notwithstanding the impediments, which they are continually encountering in popular hatred and persecutions. They persevere in aggravating the slave-holder—using against him reproachful terms—injurious epithets. Not satisfied with the extent of their operations in the North, they are here, in the West, laying their train, &c.

He could not go back home, identified in any way, with this Conference on the subject of abolition. He concluded by asking unanimity in the rejection of the amendment, and in the support of the resolutions.

Mr. Elliott, of Pittsburgh—rose to propose an amendment, declaring it to be highly imprudent, for any of the members of the General Conference, to deliver lectures on Abolition, during its session. Mr. E. trusted, that the action of the General Conference, would be of such a character, that all the brethren who had joined abolition societies, would be induced to forsake them—that others who had not joined them, would be persuaded to abstain from doing so, and that METHODISM, instead of abolitionism, or any thing else, would be the great object on which they would all unite. He strongly disapproved the publications of the abolitionists—they unjustly misrepresented southern brethren, and exaggerated the unhappy state of things in the slave-holding States. Methodism

had greatly suffered from its influence—and so far as abolitionism was connected with Methodism, he wished to pass on it, in the strongest terms that ought to be used, the disapprobation by this Conference. The zeal of Mr. E. in behalf of METHODISM, so far outstripped any that had yet been displayed, that, joined to his peculiar manner, it occasioned some little merriment among the spectators, and even among the members of the Conference.

Mr. Levings of New York—opposed any substantial alterations of the resolutions. He would assent to none, except such as were merely verbal. The sentiments expressed in the resolutions met his approbation. Ever since the commencement of the Conference, the abolition brethren had sought to bring the subject of abolition into it. There had been a recklessness in their course, that seemed to spurn all customary restraints—a determination to argue this agitating subject, that set at defiance all the usual admonitions of prudence. Those of them who attended the meetings had been previously spoken to, and advised against it, by their brethren—and even the Bishops themselves had spoken to them with the same object, and had warned them of the consequences which would follow,—consequences which were now so apparent. —As to the reference, he was opposed to it. It is true, a *committee on slavery* had been appointed. But why refer it to them? What advantage will they have in discussing this matter? Can they present it in a more tangible form? No: A course of this kind would only enable the abolitionists to press forward into still greater prominence—to further notice by this Conference—and this '*miserable*' question would derive from it a large additional amount of importance. The *language* of the resolutions was not at all too strong for the circumstances and the occasion to which it was to be applied. The Conference had an undoubted right to take notice of the *official* conduct of its members whilst in session. Having this right, it was clearly his opinion it ought to be exercised on the present occasion, for putting an end to this matter.

MR. YOUNG, of Ohio—was opposed to the amendment. He was in ordinary cases, opposed to harsh language—but the present, he conceived, was a case which, so far from calling for mild and gentle words, *ought to be marked with asperity*. As to the publications of the abolitionists and their lectures on abolition,—he had never read any of the first, and he had nothing to do with the last. They were '*implements and utensils*' that he did not wish to have about him—he had no desire to handle them, nor to touch them in any way. In no fashion had he, or did he desire, any knowledge of them. A great deal had been said about Roman Catholicism, but he thought that there was no comparison. The Roman Cath-

olics believed all that was deemed essential to salvation. The objection to *them* was, they believed a little too much, a little more than was necessary. He thought there was no analogy between Catholicism and *modern* Abolitionism. The latter was at war with all sense of decency, it outraged all our notions of good order and propriety, and was, in its every feature, utterly intolerable. He was opposed to any amendment. Instead of allaying the public excitement now existing, and blown up by the unjustifiable conduct of those who had gone to the abolition meeting, it would only tend to raise it still higher. If we should adopt this amendment, we would become responsible for the protection of their persons from public outrage. Let us then, by passing the resolutions allay the public excitement, so that every brother may pass the street in safety.

[We scarcely know how it is that such a phantom should take possession of the minds of the several intelligent men who seem to have entertained it—in view of the fact, that there is in this city an Anti-Slavery Society of nearly one hundred members—that they hold their meetings without molestation—that they use no concealment as to their abolitionism—that they pursue their business as other citizens, without being disturbed—and that an anti-slavery newspaper has, for several weeks, been in operation in Cincinnati, and no attempt has been made to interfere with it. The abolitionists in the General Conference, who attended our meeting a few evenings since, are, we believe, as secure in their persons, whilst passing the street, as is Mr. Young, or any other, equally decided advocate of Slavery in the church, or out of the church.—  
ED. PHIL.]

MR. CROWDER, of Virginia—spoke in opposition to the amendment. He contended if we rightly remember the drift of his remarks, that the Conference had full jurisdiction over the conduct of its members, whilst attending it, in discharge of official duties. The main subject—slavery in the South—was one in which the North had no interest, and of course no right to interfere with in any way. The course of the abolitionists, too, was doing great injury to the slave, in drawing closer the bonds of slavery, and rendering his case more and more hopeless. It also, prevented the spread of the Gospel, by shutting up the access heretofore enjoyed by the Methodist ministers, to the slaves. The masters, now, jealous of the preachers generally, excluded from their slaves, Methodist preachers, as well as others. Believing it altogether important to the most beneficial disposition of the whole question, that the *resolutions* should pass in their present form, he deplored every thing that went to defeat that object, by sustaining the amendment.

Several other gentlemen made brief remarks before the question on the amendments was taken. Among them, Mr. Storrs and Mr. Norris, the two members who were referred to, though not named, in the first resolution. They said, that the persons who attended and spoke, at the Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society, had, at that time no official duty to perform—they had not been appointed to preach, nor were they called to do any business on committees. Besides, it was a regular meeting of that Society. They had delivered no formal lecture. Notwithstanding, had the sentiments of the their Delegation, in relation to their attending the meeting, been as well known by them before they had pledged themselves to be present, as it was now, they would have taken a different course.

After a few remarks from the mover, Mr. Roszell, the vote was taken, and the amendment lost.

MR. ROSZELL again made some spirited remarks in favor of the resolutions, and urged on the Conference their *immediate* adoption. He appeared a little testy at the delay occasioned by discussion.

MR. SCOTT, of Massachusetts, obtained the floor, and commenced a calm and dispassionate examination of the resolutions. He began by asking the patience of members, as he would probably do the principal part of the speaking on behalf of the abolitionists who were in the Conference. We will not now give the speech of Mr. Scott—trusting we shall be enabled to publish, before long, a sketch of it from his own notes. It was a noble and lofty effort; calm, dignified, generous, christian. He showed no waspishness, nor petulance against those who differed with him, and who had been so prodigal in their reprobation of abolitionists. He was several times interrupted by his impatient adversaries—yet his calmness and self-possession were in no measure disturbed, even for a moment. The dignity of the experienced debater—understanding his subject in all its aspects—calmly taking up the admissions of his opponents and routing them with the very weapons, their own unacquaintance with the subject and their intemperate passion had so abundantly supplied; directing them all, with consummate skill—yet with the kindness and forbearance of the christian: in all these essentials of religious discussion, Mr. Scott presented himself in striking and honorable contrast with nearly all, if not all who supported the resolutions. He had proceeded about an hour in his speech, when the Conference adjourned.

*Friday morning.*

Bishop SOULE, previous to the renewal of the discussion, said, that, in his opinion, the best service the Conference could render to the church of Christ, their own church, and to



the country, would be to abstain from all interference with the principles of the constitution; with relations between the States, and between them and the General government, and the political relation of master and slave. He did not wish, however, to trammel the deliberations of the General Conference, only he did hope they would discuss the subject with calmness.

MR. BANGS rose to a point of order;—Slavery was not the question before the Conference; it was the conduct of the brethren who were reported to have delivered abolition-lectures. The chair decided that Mr. Scott, was in order; and he then continued the argument for about two hours.

MR. CROWDER, rose to reply to the last speaker. He laid down the proposition, that there were difficulties which forbade the occupying of the ground taken by Mr. Scott, (this was that Slavery was morally and always wrong.) The difficulties were, first, of a Scriptural sort, and here the speaker took occasion to observe that slave-holders had evidently been unchristianized by the brother who last spoke; for slave-holding was a sin, of course slave-holders were criminal. Mr. Crowder failed to notice the distinction between motive and action, the morality of a system and the morality of men. He referred to Leviticus, 25th chapter, where we learn that the Jews were permitted to buy servants of the heathen round about and hold them as such forever. Abraham, too, the Father of the Faithful, bought and held slaves, and the Centurion who besought Jesus that his servant might be healed, was also a slave-holder: and yet, Jesus, so far from rebuking him for his conduct, said he had not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.

The Apostles, at the beginning of their mission, found slavery, of a far worse character than Southern slavery, existing in the Roman Empire, and yet in no case did they intermeddle with it. If thou mayest use thy liberty rather; but let every man abide in the calling in which he is called. And there too was the case of Onesimus, he was a slave; still St. Paul acknowledged the right of his master and sent him back. No other example than that of our Lord and his Apostles is obligatory on us. He, Mr. C. was an experimental man—would not contend with abstractions, abstractions were mere nonentities.

There were difficulties arising out of the history of slavery and the movements in relation to it. In the days of Wesley there was no crusade against slavery. Watson was some time hesitating before he would connect himself with an abolition society. Great Britain and the United States, held different relations to slavery. A wide Ocean separated the former from her colonies; here we are all together. Be-

sides, no *compensation is proposed to slave-holders by abolitionists.*

The abolition movements, moreover, were directly opposed to the interests of that most noble society—the Colonization society.

When a Dutch vessel first disgorged a cargo of slaves in Virginia, that state protested against it; but England imposed slavery on the colony, and men of the New England States, especially citizens of Providence, were engaged in this slave-trade.

There were difficulties of a political character. By the compact of Union, Slavery was put beyond the control of the North. At a celebrated meeting in Boston, Mr. Otis had publicly contended, that in as much as slavery was known to exist at the time the states became one confederacy, and as the northern states nevertheless formed a Union with the South, the agitation of the question now, was in fact a breach of the contract they solemnly made. The question was emphatically a *political* one: religion forbids ministers of the Gospel to intermeddle with political rights or privileges. Their work was, to save souls. They must be subject to the powers that be; but how could this be the case, so long as they would intermeddle with such questions. The question cannot be made any other than a political question. These societies assailed directly our compact of union—principles and relations established by most solemn engagements and oaths.

We were sometimes accused of cruelty—of hugging the evil to our bosoms. Slavery was amongst ourselves, it should be handled by ourselves. He was born in its midst—his father was a slave-holder—he would not have slaves, when his father offered them to him: he preferred *money*. He married a lady whose father owned slaves. The father deceased, and he fell heir to a number of slaves. He wished to be cleared from them; proposed they should go to Liberia; only one consented. He then told them he could not keep them; they must get other masters or go out of the state. They got other masters. He had preached to slaves—met with them in class. Slaves were rarely treated with cruelty; they loved their masters, they were bound up in their masters, and their masters, in them. He ought, however not to omit mentioning one circumstance connected with his own case. When he was about selling his slaves, his wife desired to retain two of them; to this he had consented, and these two he owned yet. They had wept on his departure for the General Conference. He was in the habit of calling them to the fire-side and explaining to them the word of God. He meant no insult to his northern brethren—but his Cook dressed as well as any of the wives of those brethren. They were not deprived of

privileges; although kidnapped—stolen from their own country, thousands of them have been converted by the religion of Jesus Christ. Thus has God brought good out of evil.

Abolitionism goes to break up missionary operations in behalf of the slaves; and wherever cruelty exists, it aggravates and confirms it.

Slavery had no tendency to produce amalgamation. In proportion to the number of people, there were as many, if not more, mulattoes in the north than in the south.

The Gospel forbade adultery, fornication &c., in express terms, but not slavery. [Nor gambling, nor theatres.—Ed.]

Modern abolitionism tended to destroy the fairest prospects of the republic—and blast the hopes of surrounding nations, who are looking to us eagerly for the solution of the problem, whether man is capable of self-government. Let this crusade against the compact of our union go on and the union is severed—the church is severed. Then will the chances of political aspirants be increased; and despotism will be the result. Civil and religious liberty will be destroyed, and the hopes of nations will perish. Modern abolitionism tended to such results. Look at the epithets used—murderers, robbers, thieves: the whole vocabulary had been ransacked for opprobrious epithets. He therefore would vote for the resolution, disapproving the course of these brethren. He would also with his whole heart, unqualifiedly give his voice for the passage of the second one, denouncing abolitionism.

MR. WINANS said, that he did not intend to confine his remarks to the first resolution—he would reply directly to brother Scott's argument. He would preface what he had to say by a few remarks, which might appear egotistical. He was from the extreme south. He arose with perfect calmness, without agitation, without a single angry feeling towards any brother. But occupying the situation he did, feeling his responsibility to his God, to the church, and to the interests of humanity, he could not be without strong emotion.

He would meet the brother on the fundamental ground of his argument—would examine his strong moral views of slavery. It had been assumed, that slavery was wrong in *some* circumstances, in *no* circumstances or in *all* circumstances. Now he designed to prove from the brother's own admission, that slavery was right in *all* circumstances. Jehovah had permitted—had regulated slavery: would he permit—would he regulate that which was morally wrong? Could there be a blinding influence, strong enough to induce any one to charge God with sanctioning crime? It would be needless to refer to particular scriptures; but many passages did exist which established beyond controversy that God did permit *perpetual*—*hereditary* slavery. This admitted, it was plain, that cir-

cumstances might deprive slavery of an immoral character. He would have opposed slavery in its *origin*. It was as clear as the morning sun that slavery in the abstract is wrong. But is it wrong no win the Southern States? This is the point in dispute between abolitionists and *anti*-abolitionists. Have we not seen, that circumstances justified it in the case of the Hebrews? If circumstances *can* justify it, he thought they existed in the South. Another question would arise—ought christians to endeavor to change these circumstances. He had no doubt, they ought—that it was *obligatory* on them to do so. But was the course of abolitionists right? clearly not. It was most unpropitious, most injudicious—and calculated to effect precisely what was most opposite to their purposes.

[This paragraph of Mr. Winan's speech is by no means a meagre presentation of the argument as he would call it, by which he attempted to answer one of the most simple and comprehensive demonstrations that we have heard, proving that slavery is right in *no* circumstances. Mr. W., we have no reason to doubt, thought it very triumphant—without seeming once to suspect, that he had fallen into the blunder so common with unskilful reasoners, and passionate declaimers, of "begging the question"—taking for granted the thing to be proved—the very matter in dispute. Now Mr. Scott might deny altogether, that *slavery—property in man*, with its concomitants—ever existed among the Hebrews, with the approbation of God. So far from this, Mr. S. could easily demonstrate from the history of that people, that even a remote approximation on their part to *oppression*, in the form of *slave-holding*, was followed by the severest, national punishments. Again,—if according to Mr. Winan's ethics, the peculiar circumstances of the South justify or excuse slavery there, why—on every principle of sound reasoning, provided slavery be a convenient and profitable institution—ought these justifying or excusatory circumstances to be altered? or why, is there an obligation, resting on christians to do away with circumstances that excuse or justify a course of action they are pursuing? To a mind capable of comprehending the plainest process of reasoning, it would seem wantonly wicked, to remove or alter *circumstances* which alone are relied on, to *excuse* and *justify*, whilst the subject, or course of action around which they exist, acknowledged to be in itself, incapable of justification or excuse, is left untouched and unaltered. The more the *justifying circumstances* are removed from the *unjustifiable subject*, the deeper, it appears to us, must be the guilt of those engaged in the one, whilst they continue in the other.

We have never yet heard an argument from the advocates of southern oppression, on what is now beginning to be call-

ed the *Bible view* of the question, which did not satisfy us, either that their scriptural investigations had been culpably superficial—or that the *practice* or the *advocacy* of oppression superinduced over their minds, an influence as blinding to the truth in their case, as that created by Jewish prejudice against the lowly character of our Saviour, and which led them to reject him as the Messiah, and crucify him as a malefactor. Yet do they rush into the argument, as a horse into battle, and generally meet with the overthrow to which their nakedness and thoughtless alacrity expose them.

If there be on the side of oppression, any position which is impregnable, we do not believe, it has yet been occupied by its champions. Beside this, their armor is fragile—the blow of a pigmy shivers it. The Babylonish garment—the wedge of gold hidden in their tent unnerves them. Nor let them expect anything but discomfiture, till they can attack with the animation of men who have prayed much, have studied the word of God much, and have resolved to *do* the will of God *however diverse* it may be from their preconceived notions. Even this preparation, perfect as it may seem, by no means does away with the necessity of some knowledge to be acquired by a few hours attention to the elementary rules of Watts' or Whately's Logic.—ED. PHIL.]

He was not born in a slave state,—he was a Pennsylvanian by birth. He had been brought up to believe a slave-holder as great a villain as a horse-thief; but he had gone to the South &c., long residence there had changed his views; he had become a slave-holder—a slave-holder on *principle*. There was suspicion abroad in the South. To obviate such suspicion and gain free access to the slave, so as to do him good, it was highly advantageous for a minister that he himself should hold slaves; and he could see no impropriety, but advantage, in members, preachers, presiding elders and even bishops, being slave-holders. Yes, said Mr. W., however novel the sentiment may be, however startling it may be to many, I avow this opinion boldly, and without any desire to conceal it.

The brother admitted that congress had no power of legislation on slavery in the states. The only influence, therefore, abolitionism could exert, was moral in its character—must be exerted over mind. Now the legislatures of the slave states only, could abolish slavery; therefore this moral influence must be exerted on them—he affirmed that abolition in its influence on those bodies, was directly opposite to that which its friends designed. For the ten years, preceding the last three years, there was a constantly increasing disposition to meliorate the condition of the slave. The abolition excitement was got up. In one moment, a paralysis was felt in every nerve of the South—in all those influences, looking to

the emancipation of the slave. Though a slave-holder himself, no abolitionist felt more sympathy for the slave than he did—none had rejoiced more in the hope of a coming period, when the print of a slave's foot would not be seen on the soil. His heart sank within him when he contemplated the incendiary influence of abolition. They were incendiary, for they had kindled a flame upon the dearest hopes of the African.

He and his brethren in the *south* were to act on this question—not *others for them*. Abolition was considered a murderous scheme at the South—[here the speaker became so rapid and vehement, that we found it impossible to note accurately what he said.] We remember, however, that his fruitful imagination pictured, “murdered wives,” “massacred children,” “burning towns,” “cities and habitations rendered desolate,” “slaves freed to be impoverished, to starve, to die,”—consequences which it was believed would result from the success of abolition doctrines. Southern legislatures, he said, would never listen to such doctrines—they were deaf, they would be deaf as an adder. The South already looked upon the people of the north as their enemies—thirsting for their blood. A few knew that the body of the north was opposed to such schemes—regarded them as fanatical. And the most favorable view he could take of abolitionists was, that they were carried away by fanaticism.

The brother had said that abolitionism had an intimate connexion with our missionary operations. It had; but in a very different sense from what the brother meant. He would state a case to illustrate his views. A brother was sent last year to a circuit on the Mississippi coast, comprising three parishes. No sooner were the abolition movements known at the north than public meetings were called in two of the parishes, and it was decided in them that Methodist preachers should preach no more: because two Conferences in the north had avowed themselves in favor of abolition. The third parish was not so hasty—had a little more common sense. A public meeting was called in this, but owing to the influence of one man, no such prohibitory measure was adopted. This man pledged his honor, his property—his life in defence of the purity of the preacher's character and motives, and he was allowed to preach amongst them. In the two parishes where so violent measures were taken, the most of the residents were slaves—and preachers had never before been questioned. Let abolitionists proceed, and they would effect nothing better in the South. In the north they might raise a flame, and call it a holy flame, but in the south it would be the fire of hell.

Methodists had two sets of fathers—one set, abolitionists. Bishop Asbury's name had been introduced—Bishop Asbury.

before his death, was decidedly an anti-abolitionist. Bishop Asbury, at first was a believer in the doctrines of abolition and he acted on the belief. Experience convinced him of his error; and his course was changed. It would be amusing, were not the subject so important, to hear brethren talk of the great additional light of modern times. They had said it was too late in the day to put back this question. They supposed a flood of light had been poured on this subject. The modesty of brethren was great. The fathers of Methodism were thrown into the shade by the increased light of this day. The speaker declared emphatically;—from the North or Great Britain, we will not receive, we do not want, aid or advice to help us to rid ourselves of slavery. We will sit in judgment on our own case, we will follow our own course.” He would not censure the North for its high assumptions. Neither Great Britain nor the North, however, occupied positions from which they could help the South. The greatest service they could do it, was, to let it alone. The question was a political question with which none but the South had any thing to do.

In the sight of Heaven this was their only proper course. It was important to the interests of slaves, and in view of the question of slavery, that there be christians, who were slave-holders. Christian ministers should be slave-holders and dif-fused throughout the south. Yes sir, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, should be slave-holders—yes, he repeated it boldly, there should be members, and Deacons, and Elders, and Bishops too, who were slave-holders. For if slave-holding were a valid reason for excluding a man from office, it was a valid reason for excluding him from membership. The South *should* be heard—should lose nothing from him. Hear it or not—that was not his concern, it was the concern of the Conference.

He did not wish to be misunderstood in relation to the first resolution. There was great indelicacy, great indecorum, great disrespect to the Conference, to the city, to public opinion—in the conduct of the brethren, proposed to be censured. He had no doubt as to the propriety of censure. They merited reprehension. Abolition movements should be reprehended; for they were evil, and only evil, always and every where. It had been insinuated that he wanted milk and water resolutions. This was, as to himself, a novel accusation. He had commonly been charged with too much boldness—too much severity, but never before accused in this fashion. He knew not how much animal courage he might possess—but to moral and political courage he avowed his claim. Indeed a distinguished politician of the South said of him, that he would make an excellent politician, only he had too much candor. His character must indeed be essentially

changed, if he could keep back the truth, to conciliate the good opinion of any.

MR. SANDFORD thought it due to the delegation with which he was connected, that it should be heard.

They occupied a middle ground, as they thought, between two extremes. They were no abolitionists, but held their peculiar sentiments. On the abstract question of slavery, their opinions were no other than such as are expressed in their Discipline: they were Methodists in this particular. They regretted the existence of slavery; but it was beyond their power—they could not prevent its existence. He regretted the measures of abolition, as being, in their tendency, injurious. He was a warm and decided colonizationist. That institution had been productive of much good—numerous slaves had been emancipated by it, but its operations had been retarded by abolition movements. These movements had done much evil and very little good; and had prevented the accomplishment of the good that might have been wrought, in view of the interests of the slaves. The people of the north deplored abolition movements. They abhorred slavery, but believed it morally wrong to agitate the question in the north to the injury of the south. It would only rivet the chains upon the slave. So strong was public feeling against abolition, that in a certain place, the people, suspecting a preacher of holding abolition sentiments, declared they would not hear him preach. The speaker said a few other things, by way of disclaiming all connexion with abolitionists; for which he received little or no credit from Mr. Smith, who here interrupted him, on a point of order, and said, if we remember right, that the brother seemed to be one of that class of men who neither did harm nor good.

MR. ROSZELL said, had he known beforehand, that so much extraneous matter would have been introduced into this discussion, he would not have offered the resolutions to the Conference. It would be idle, he thought, to attempt to answer the argument of the brother. [Scott] If the resolution had had the confluent small-pox, these arguments had not come near enough to catch the infection. He then read the resolutions. He said, that untrammelled by this unhappy excitement, many of them, before abolitionists were born, were engaged in meliorating the condition of the slave population. Whenever the consequences of any measures for the removal of an evil were worse than the evil itself, the prosecutors of such measures stood charged before God as criminals. Abolitionists reminded him of Herod—when Herod had promised the damsel with an oath to give her whatever she might ask, and she had asked for the head of John the Baptist, the king, rather than break his promise would commit murder. Abolitionists



had prevented *them* from acting. They knew nothing about them. In the South, they had been successfully engaged in freeing slaves, but abolitionists had shut up the way. Houses of worship had been burnt; religious privileges taken away, and the houses of their colored people mutilated in Baltimore. Never had one individual been benefitted by abolition.

DR. CAPERS of South Carolina, rose to state some facts, with which he was personally acquainted. Methodism had been introduced into South Carolina, under very favorable circumstances. The doctrine of the forgiveness of sins, by repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, unless the Baptists formed an exception, was not, at that time, preached in South Carolina. The community was in an unprejudiced state. They soon formed a society in Charleston, composed of as respectable and worthy people, as ever entered into the composition of any church. The church, to be sure, labored under some disadvantages; but under none as connected with slavery. He would narrate a little anecdote. A preacher stopped on Cooper's river, at the house of Mr. Ball, one of the foremost planters in this state. When evening came, and the period of work was over, the preacher proposed, that the negroes should be assembled, in order that he might speak to them on the subject of religion. The proposal was immediately responded to, and information forthwith sent off to the neighboring plantations; so that a congregation of from one to two thousand was speedily assembled. Mr. Ball was so well pleased, that he desired to retain the preacher as his chaplain, and that he might preach to his negroes. This, the speaker intimated, was then the state of things. They had free access to the plantations. As much was done as could be done. Dr. Coke, about this time made his first visit, but passed hastily through the country. On his second visit a different aspect was exhibited. The South had then but little participation in the affairs of the church. It came to pass that in 1806, the general Conference, composed, three fourths, of northern brethren, was induced to take those measures, to which the brother from the New England Conference referred in his speech. Those measures were reprobatory of slavery and slave-holding, and were accompanied by an exhortation, to get up memorials on the subject of slavery to the legislature. George Dorrel, representative from the South Carolina Conference, protested against these measures. The matter leaked out—the jealousies of the people were awakened—Methodist preachers became objects of suspicion, and were in fact considered dangerous to the public peace. The largest planters, and of course the mass of slaves, dwelt in the low rich countries. From these, Methodist preachers were excluded, and driven back into the interior. What was the

result? In Charleston, one of the purest and most noble of their ministers, George Dorrel, was dragged, like a felon, to the pump, and only rescued at the point of the sword. Methodist preachers could not save themselves—they were put down. There were not many noble then, not many rich, not many high; they were reduced to the most pitiable condition. A re-action ensued—they began to be pitied—persecution ceased. Their meeting-houses began to be crowded. The black people, without them, deprived of gospel privileges, began to enjoy them again. The galleries of the churches were filled with them. Again and again, were the brethren interfered with, and repeatedly taken from the pulpit, because of the number of blacks present. In 1811 they had little or no access to the blacks. An instance would illustrate. Brother Donnelly, wishing to preach to the colored people in a certain place, and baptize some among them, had to set out at midnight upon his benevolent enterprize. Another instance;—about 12 miles from Charleston was another place, where it was desirable to preach to the colored people. They had never before heard Jesus Christ preached. But one house in the neighborhood could be occupied for this purpose, and that was a grog-shop. It was resolved, however, to preach there. by some means it came to the ears of the neighboring slaveholders. They determined to prevent it. A mob was to be raised in grand style; the negroes were to be punished, and the preacher ducked in a duck-pond hard by. The time came and it fell to *his* lot to go—but there was no disturbance. That very spot was the place of his nativity—he was well known there; and also it was understood that his conexions were of such a character as to secure him, to a certain extent, against any personal violence. But that preaching place was abandoned, for Methodist preachers were under the ban. At length, people began to consider that many of them were slaveholders—why should they be insurrectionists? This single circumstance went far to raise them above suspicion.

D<sup>Q</sup>. CAPERS narrated some other circumstances, but our notes are here deficient. These, together with the facts he had adduced, he brought forward to show, how delicate was the question of slavery; in what peculiar, perplexing circumstances it placed the southern brethren; how much injury had been done to them, as well as to the slaves, by northern interference, and how much more injury would inevitably result in the same way, from the efforts of abolitionists. He called upon his abolition brethren to beware—to pause before they proceeded farther in their misguided efforts. Whilst he was narrating what difficulties the Methodist ministers had labored under—what they had endured, both of privation and

persecution for the slave—the affection and gratitude of the slaves, &c. &c., many tears were shed by the slave-holding members of the Conference. Their emotion was great, while the Doctor, a slave-holder himself, as we are informed, was spreading before them the picture of their many afflictions, and their eyes were imploringly directed at times towards the place where their abolition brethren sat.

The amount of all we could gather, was, that ministers of the gospel, in the south, if they did their duty faithfully, were liable to persecution.

After Dr. Capers had concluded, the Conference had a recess till 3 o'clock, P. M.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION.

*May 13th.*—There was much small talk. We have notes of only one member's speech. We think this was delivered, on the offering of an amendment by Mr. Scott. The debate had been generally gotten through with, and it seemed to be understood that the resolutions would pass. The question was about to be taken, when Mr. Scott moved to amend the second resolution, by inserting immediately after the words, 'Abolitionism in whole and in part,' the following—'and that we also disapprove of slavery.' This gave rise to some remarks, when a member suggested that it would be better to amend, by inserting the words of the Discipline in reference to slavery, which are 'that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery.' Mr. Scott immediately agreed to adopt this, and offered it in the place of his original amendment. An animated discussion now arose on the adoption of this amendment. The majority were doubtless a good deal embarrassed. One, in his simplicity said,—he did not conceive how any brother could object to incorporating into the resolution, a sentiment which they had already avowed, as a church. But he evidently mistook the mark. There was great objection. Southern members soon placed the matter in its true light. The incorporation of this sentiment in the resolutions, would neutralize entirely the original design and tendency of them. If the amendment were adopted, the resolutions could not be sent to the south. The amendment would be construed as designed to cloak the real opinions of the Conference. That body would most certainly be charged with abolitionism. Mr. Winans, of Mississippi, begged leave to state a fact, which would show how unpopular, under present circumstances, would be any such amendment. The particulars, we are unable to recollect, but this was the amount. An excitement had been occasioned in New Orleans against Methodists. The Mayor of the city had been informed, by some interested person, of the article in the discipline, in relation to slavery.

From this it was inferred, that the Methodists were genuine abolitionists. The excitement was not allayed, until a clergyman of another persuasion, took the Discipline, went to the mayor, showed him the article, and explained to him, that it had been inserted in the *early* period of the church, and that it was not a new thing. We are at a loss to give the precise words of Mr. Winans; but the impression made on us was, that the article in relation to slavery, was introduced, when the circumstances of the church were different from what they are now:—that *now*, the article is in fact a *dead letter*.

The members from the free states, when they saw the stand taken by their southern brethren on the subject, were generally in favor of rejecting the amendment,—not, they asserted, because they did not adhere to the sentiments of their discipline; but the object was now, to allay the excitement of abolition, and satisfy the public mind of their opposition to it. With regard to slavery, their opinion was already expressed, and stood out in their discipline to the notice of the world. Mr. Scott thought, that, if it were necessary, on the one hand to guard against abolition, it was no less necessary on the other, to guard against slavery. He thought this was indeed an alarming period,—when Methodist ministers shrunk from openly declaring, what they avowed in the discipline as their creed. He did hope that brethren would not reject the amendment, and thus virtually abrogate a part of their own Discipline. He made many other forcible and eloquent remarks, in the midst of which he was called to order by Mr. Holmes, of the Pittsburg Conference, who supposed, that the speaker had violated one of the rules of order, in speaking twice on the same subject. Mr. Scott was pronounced by the chair in order, because, *before*, he had spoken to the original resolution; *now*, he was speaking to the amendment. Mr. Holmes manifested a disposition to persist, which, however, not being encouraged, he sat down.

Not long after Mr. Scott had concluded, MR. SMITH, of Virginia,—began by professing to be a *man*, a *christian* a *gentleman*. As a man, he had feelings which had been whipped and goaded on every side during this debate; as a christian, he disavowed, before God and the Conference, harboring any unkind sentiments towards his abolition brethren. He could not entertain harsh feelings towards any man. Reflections had passed through his mind, while considering the unfortunate situation in which those brethren had placed themselves, which brought tears to his eyes.

He was sorry for the course his southern brethren had taken in relation to these resolutions. The abstract question of slavery, they ought not to have discussed. Indulgence in such discussions was lowering their dignity—prostrating them

before the American nation. Slavery was to be looked at, not in the abstract, but the concrete, as it was in *fact*. Abolition was fraught with the most mischievous consequences. He here read an extract from, we presume, an abolition paper—to this amount, that any American citizen who holds another as a slave, is guilty of a crime irreconcilable with the spirit of christianity. He remarked, that the *inference* from this was, that the slave-holder was no christian. ‘Must such men,’ said he, ‘whip in hand, booted and spurred,’ ride over our feelings? As we live—as God lives—it becomes brethren to pause. Modern abolitionism proclaimed her own consummate folly, when, in the same breath, on the very heels, of the declaration, that slave-holders are criminals against God and man—guilty of the most God-provoking crimes, she turns round and tells them that she does not unchristianize them.

Here MR. SCOTT rose and asked explicitly whether the speaker had any allusion to him—for if so, he was misrepresenting him. Mr. Smith turned towards him, and exclaimed, ‘I have no more to do with that brother, than if he did not exist;’ and with great heat he added, ‘I wish *to God*, he were in Heaven.’ He added something in an under tone about wishing all abolitionists there, and himself if ever he should become one. Some remarks were here made by the chair; when Mr. Smith said, he had so often been called by these men, a man stealer, &c. that by this time he was perfectly used to them. That brother (alluding to Mr. Scott) was perfectly sincere, but *he* knew nothing more about abolitionism than *he* did about slavery.

He then read another extract from the same paper giving as he said, another feature of abolitionism. The amount of it was, that slavery should be renounced now and forever. The objection to it, was, that it was impracticable. The attempt to do such an act, would array against them all the feeling of the south. If success chanced to attend the measures of abolition, all those consequences would inevitably follow, which had been depicted by the brother, who had spoken in the morning.

Modern abolitionism was to be seen in what it did, rather than what it professed. In its effects, it was inflammatory in the north, and incendiary in the south. Its withering influence had been felt in the church—in the Quarterly meeting—in the class room. The blight of heaven had followed, wherever it prevailed. Brethren from the north would testify to this fact; if they would not, he would upon oath. He knew the societies—the associations in which this effect was manifest.

Modern abolitionism was a great political and religious

heresy. Its design was to array all the moral and religious feeling of the people against the political institutions of the land; and it was in direct contravention of the book he held in his hand, [the New Testament.] The Apostle Paul, when he went forth to preach the Gospel, found slavery in the world, and recognized it. He relied on preaching Christ crucified, as the great means for remedying every evil. He formed no abolition societies. He [Mr. Smith,] and his brethren of the south, expected, by preaching Christ, to accomplish all that could be accomplished. These abolition brethren, are for interfering with the political institutions of the land. They had engaged in a crusade—harangues, petitions, memorials, addressing political assemblies—nothing was left untried. In all these respects, they had departed from the example of the Apostles. The Discipline of the Church, moreover, authorized no interference with the political institutions of the country.

They, of the south, entreated of their brethren of the north, just to let them alone. If they would not hear to this, why then they must part. Either abolitionists would have to separate from them, or they from abolitionists. Such inevitably would be the result, unless the brethren should change their course.

After a little more discussion, the question, was called for, and on the votes being counted, it was found, that 123 *voted against the amendment—against incorporating in the resolution, that, “they were as much as ever, convinced of the great evil of slavery.”* The members of the New England and New Hampshire Delegations, fourteen in number, voted for it.

The vote was then taken on the resolutions themselves—they were both carried by large majorities. A resolution was also introduced to have them published in the city journals generally. This, we understand, was afterwards reconsidered and recalled—the publishing order being limited to the Western Christian Advocate.

#### SEQUEL.

*Saturday morning.*—We have been told, for we were not present, that on the meeting of the Conference, Mr. Crowder remarked, that it had been thought by some, that his remark on the preceding day, asserting that his cook, one of his slaves, *dressed as well as the wives of the northern brethren,* was offensive. He intended by it nothing offensive to those brethren, for he was willing to include his own wife with theirs. Indeed, he and Mrs. Crowder, when they determined to retain the two slaves, mentioned by him, before, had resolved that the slaves should dress as well as they (Mr. and Mrs. C.) did.

He repeated that nothing injurious to the feeling of others was intended. However, said he, if it is the desire of the Conference, I will take back all my remarks relating to this part of the subject.

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NOTE.—The editor of the *Philanthropist*, having been informed that many members of the Conference were anxious to see the sketch of the Debate, as it would be published in that journal, addressed the following note to that body:—

*To the General Conference of the M. E. Church:—*

In the *Philanthropist*—of which the undersigned is editor—there will be published, this week, a sketch of your late debate on Slavery. Should it be agreeable to your body, fifty copies of it, or more, will, on publication, be sent to the Conference room, without charge, for the use of its members.

Very Respectfully,

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

*Cincinnati, Thursday Morning, May, 18, 1836.*

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[FROM THE PHILANTHROPIST.]

We are sorry to report, that the above offer, made in the spirit of kindness, met with a very unsuitable response from the body to which it was directed. On the reading of the note, by the presiding officer, some member—we are not informed *who*, and we were not present—moved to *lay it on the table*. This was carried, as it were, by acclamation—Mr. Roszell remarking, that he regretted *this* motion was made, as he had intended to move, that the writer have *leave to withdraw his note*.

Notwithstanding what has passed, any member of the Conference can be supplied with a number of the *Philanthropist*, containing the Debate, by making known to us his desire to have it.

## SECOND PART.

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*An Address, to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

[BY A MEMBER OF THAT BODY.]

FATHERS AND BRETHREN—

I have listened with deep attention to the discussion of the subjects of slavery and abolition which occupied nearly two days of your time last week. I had expected these subjects would come up for investigation at the present session of our General Conference. It is fit and right that these great matters should be examined—and that we should express a sentiment both on slavery and abolition, at the present time. These subjects are now fairly before the American people—and in them we are deeply involved, both as a church, and as a nation.

The great question now pending—is the *justice or injustice* of the claims of more than two millions of our American citizens, to the *inalienable rights of freemen!* A matter of such vast moment should not be looked upon with indifference. It is no time to make a compromise between *truth* and *error?* The sentiment which our General Conference expresses, and sends out to the world at its present session, will either *retard* or *hasten* the deliverance of the slaves. Great, therefore, is our responsibility? Any interference of this General Conference, or any of its members, with the political relations of master and slave, would be, both inexpedient and improper. But the subject of slavery involves GREAT MORAL PRINCIPLES, and with these, as Christian ministers, we have something to do.

Slavery takes away the key of knowledge—withholds the Holy Scriptures—crushes the intellect of God's intelligent creatures—exposes to insult without protection, a million of the females of this land—separates husbands and wives, parents and children—places all the religious privileges and domestic enjoyments of millions of our fellow citizens beyond their control, or at the disposal of their masters—and often compels to labors and hardships which are inhumanly wasting to health and life.—And is this *WHOLLY a political subject?* Are there no *great moral principles* involved in this system? Is there nothing that ought to excite the sympathy, prayers, and exertions of Christians and christian ministers? Ought



we not to “remember those in bonds as bound with them?” Is it nothing to christian ministers, that the Bible is withheld from one sixth part of our entire population in this country? And that there are hundreds of thousands of pagans in the midst of us? And must we connive at this bloody and cruel system, because forsooth, it is a very delicate subject? Will it ever be less delicate?

We censure, and very justly, the Papists for withholding the Scriptures from the common people, and yet we withhold not only the Bible, but the knowledge of letters from the slave population of this country! The laws of the slave holding states, in general, prohibit the teaching a slave to read or write, under *heavy penalties*. A second offence of teaching a slave in some of the slave states, is punishable with death. We admit, that in despite of all law, in some few instances, slaves are taught to read, but these spots are so few in number, and so distant from each other, as only to make the mental darkness the more visible. The great mass, I may say, the *great whole* of the slave population are entirely destitute of all means of instruction. The tree of knowledge, to them, is guarded by a flaming sword pointing every way. The master's *interest* and *security* are both intimately connected with the ignorance of his slaves!

However great the insult offered to the slave, however cruel the treatment he receives, he has *no redress*—he may not be a witness against a white man in *any way!* There is no eye to see his sufferings, but that eye which penetrates all hearts. The slave has no adequate protection for his person or friends. Every hour the parent is liable to be separated from the child, and the husband from the wife, to meet no more on this side the grave! We admit, that in buying and selling slaves, there is, in some instances, a disposition manifested to avoid separating families, and yet the most *heart-rending separations* often take place! But this is a *political* thing; ministers of the Gospel have nothing to do with it. Indeed! Tell it not in heathen countries!

Permit me, dear brethren, to call your attention to some of the principal arguments, on both sides, which were brought forward in the late discussion of slavery and abolition. This appears to me the more necessary, inasmuch as the arguments of brother Scott, were scarcely noticed by the speakers on the other side—and inasmuch, also, as he was not permitted to speak but once on the question, and of course could not reply to their arguments. And as the arguments of the speakers who followed brother Scott, were not replied to by any one, it may be profitable to us to make a short reply; and to take a summary view of the whole discussion. About *eleven hours* were consumed in the discussion—two of which were

occupied by brother Scott, and about one by other brethren on the same side; leaving *eight* to our slave-holding, and anti-abolitionist brethren!

When brother S., commenced his speech, he stated, that he felt it his duty to let the Conference know what *modern* abolitionism was, before it should be condemned by the passage of a resolution which was then pending. He then assumed the position, that the principles of slavery,—the principle which justifies holding and treating the human species as property, is morally wrong,—or in other words, that it is a *sin*. The principle, he contended, aside from all circumstances, is *evil*, ONLY EVIL, and that CONTINUALLY! He said no hand could sanctify it—no circumstances could change it from bad to good. It was a reprobate—too bad to be converted—not subject to the law of God, neither indeed, could be. He admitted that circumstances might palliate, and circumstances might aggravate, but no circumstances could justify the *principle*. If any circumstances could justify the right of property in human beings—then we had only to change some of the circumstances with which slavery is connected, and it becomes universally right—so that in this case, the sin would be in the circumstances. The abstract question was argued at considerable length. It was insisted that slavery was morally right, or morally wrong, or that it had no moral character. The first and last of these suppositions, he considered *absurd*; and contended, that “He who has made of one blood, all nations of men to dwell on the earth,” must look with *disapprobation* upon such a system of complicated wrongs, as American slavery.

The speaker then attempted to show, that such views of slavery among Methodists, and Methodist ministers, are not “modern,” by extracts from Wesley, Clarke, our fathers in this country—and our brethren on the other side the Atlantic. And these quotations show, that clear, plain, pointed denunciations of slavery, are not peculiar to “modern abolitionism.” Read the following, and then judge whether our fathers believed slavery to be a sin against God and the rights of humanity.

“And this equally concerns every gentleman that has an estate in our American plantations; yea, all slave-holders, of whatever rank and degree; *seeing men buyers are exactly on a level with men stealers*. Indeed you say, “I pay honestly for my goods; and I am not concerned to know how they are come by.” Nay, but you are; you are deeply concerned to know they are honestly come by.—Otherwise you are a partaker with a thief, and are not a jot honestier than him. But you know they are not honestly come by; you know they are procured by means nothing near so innocent as picking

of pockets, house breaking, or robbery on the highway. You know they are procured by a deliberate series of more complicated villainy, (of fraud, robbery, and murder,) than was ever practiced either by Mahommedans or Pagans; in particular, by murders, of all kind; by the blood of the innocent poured upon the ground like water. Now, it is your money that pays the merchant, and through him the captain and African butchers. You, therefore, are guilty, yea, principally guilty, of all these frauds, robberies, and murders. You are the spring that puts all the rest in motion; they would not stir a step without you; therefore, the blood of all these wretches who die before their time, whether in their country or elsewhere, lies upon your head. "The blood of thy brother" (for, whether thou wilt believe it or no, such he is in the sight of Him that made him) "cryeth against thee from the earth," from the ship, and from the waters. O, whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it is too late: instantly, at any price, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood guiltiness! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, thy lands, are at present stained with blood. Surely it is enough; accumulate no more guilt; spill no more the blood of the innocent! Do not hire another to shed blood; do not pay him for doing it! Whether you are a Christian or no, show yourself a man?—Be not more savage than a lion or a bear.

Perhaps you will say, "I do not buy any negroes; I only use those left me by my father." So far it is well; but is it enough to satisfy your own conscience? *Had your father, have you, has any man living, a right to use another as a slave? It cannot be, even setting Revelation aside.* It cannot be, that either war, or contract, can give any man such a property in another as he has in his sheep and oxen. Much less is it possible that any child of man should ever be born a slave. Liberty is the right of every human creature; as soon as he breathes the vital air; *and no human law can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature.*

If, therefore, you have any regard to justice, (to say nothing of mercy, nor the revealed law of God,) render unto all their due. Give liberty to whom liberty is due, that is, to every child of man, to every partaker of human nature. Let none serve you but by his own act and deed, by his own voluntary choice. Away with all whips, all chains, all compulsion! Be gentle toward all men; and see that you invariably do unto every one as you would he should do unto you."

J. WESLEY.

"In heathen countries, slavery was in some sort excusable; but among Christians it is an *enormity* and a *CRIME* for which perdition has scarcely an adequate state of punishment."

DR. A. CLARKE.

In extending the evil of slavery in this nation, the Methodist Episcopal Church, has, it is feared, for thirty-five or forty years past, exerted an unhappy influence. Four years before our church was organized in this country, that is, in 1780, the Conference bore the following testimony against it:—

*“The Conference acknowledges that slavery is contrary to THE LAWS OF GOD, MAN AND NATURE, and hurtful to society; CONTRARY TO THE DICTATES OF CONSCIENCE AND PURE RELIGION; and doing what we would not that others should do unto us; and they pass their DISAPPROBATION upon all our friends who keep slaves, and they advise their freedom.”*

And from Lee's History of the Methodists, page 101, we learn that the M. E. Church was organized, with a number of express rules upon this subject, which stipulated that slavery *should not be continued* in the Church. One of them was as follows:

*“Every member in our society shall legally execute and record an instrument [for the purpose of setting every slave in his possession free,] within the space of two years.”*

And another was as follows:

*“Every person concerned who will not comply with these rules, shall have liberty quietly to withdraw from our society within the twelve months following, the notice being given him as aforesaid: otherwise, the assistant shall exclude him from the society.”*

And again another rule declared that,

*“Those who bought or sold SLAVES, or gave them away, unless on purpose to free them, should be expelled immediately.”*

In the edition of our Discipline also, printed in 1801, we find a number of rules upon the same subject, but which as you are aware, together with the above, have long since been left out of the Disciplinary regulations of our church, and consequently many of our ministers and members are the owners of slaves; and for a number of years past, the number has been increasing in the Christian church, and in the nation; nor do we expect that this “great evil,” will ever be effectually checked in its progress, till christians and christian ministers cease to countenance it by their EXAMPLE.—

The present form of Discipline does not contain one fourth part of the article headed “Slavery” which we find in the Discipline of 1801. We suppose the greatest part of that article was left out of the Discipline at the General Conference of 1804 or 1808, as it is not in the copy which we have seen published sometime in the year 1808.

#### OF SLAVERY.

*“Question.* What regulations shall be made for the extirpation of the crying evil of African slavery?

*Answer, 1.* We declare that we are more than ever convinced of the great evil of African slavery, which still exists in these United States, and do most earnestly recommend to the Yearly Conferences, Quarterly Meetings, and to those who have the oversight of Districts and Circuits, to be exceedingly cautious what persons they admit to official stations in our church; and in the case of future admission to official stations, to require such security of those who hold slaves, for the emancipation of them, *immediately*, or *gradually*, as the laws of the States respectively, and the circumstances of the case will admit; and we do fully authorize all the Yearly Conferences to make whatever regulation they judge proper, in the present case, respecting the admission of persons to official stations in our church.

2. When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, *by any means*, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he executes, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives.

3. No slave-holder shall be received into society, till the preacher who has the oversight of the Circuit, has spoken to him freely and faithfully upon the subject of slavery.

4. Every member of the society, who sells a slave, shall immediately, after full proof, be excluded from the society; and if any member of our society purchase a slave, the ensuing Quarterly Meeting shall determine on the number of years, in which the slave so purchased would work out the price of his purchase. And the person so purchasing, shall immediately after such determination, execute a legal instrument for the manumission of such slave, at the expiration of the term determined by the Quarterly Meeting. And in default of his executing such instrument of manumission, or on his refusal to submit his case to the judgment of the Quarterly Meeting, such member shall be excluded the society. Provided also, that in the case of a female slave, it shall be inserted in the aforesaid instrument of manumission, that all her children who shall be born during the years of her servitude, shall be free at the following times, namely—every female child at the age of *twenty-one*, and every male child at the age of *twenty-five*. Nevertheless, if the member of our society, executing the said instrument of manumission, judge it proper, he may fix the times of manumission of the female slaves before mentioned, at an earlier age than that which is prescribed above.

5. The preachers and other members of our society, are requested to consider the subject of negro slavery with deep attention; and that they impart to the General Conference, through the medium of the Yearly Conferences, or otherwise,

any important thoughts upon the subject, that the Conference may have full light, in order to take further steps towards the eradicating this enormous evil from that part of the church of God to which they are connected.

6. The Annual Conferences are directed to draw up addresses for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, to the legislatures of those States, in which no general laws have been passed for that purpose. These addresses shall urge in the most respectful, but pointed manner, the necessity of a law for the gradual emancipation of the slaves; proper committees shall be appointed, by the Annual Conferences, out of the most respectable of our friends, for the conducting of the business; and the Presiding Elders, Elders, Deacons, and Travelling Preachers, shall procure as many proper signatures as possible to the addresses; and give all the assistance in their power, in every respect, to aid the committees, and to further this blessed undertaking. LET THIS BE CONTINUED FROM YEAR TO YEAR, TILL THE DESIRED END BE ACCOMPLISHED."

"If it is wrong to steal men from Africa, to reduce them to a state of bondage; it is, for the same reason, to retain them in slavery. If you condemn the first thief, and the first receiver of the stolen goods, how will you justify those who, knowing them to be stolen, continue to retain them? I confess that I cannot see how the perpetuation of an injury can cause it to cease to be an injury, or by what process an acknowledged wrong can be transmuted into a right by continuing in it. My argument then is, if it was wrong to enslave the negroes, it is wrong to keep them in hopeless bondage; and it follows, that, after this country had renounced the African slave trade, it was bound by the very principles on which that wretched traffic was repudiated, to have taken measures for the liberation of all who had thus been wickedly reduced to a state of captivity, at the earliest period at which their liberation could have been made consistent with their own interests, and long before this time to have converted them into a free, industrious and happy peasantry."

R. WATSON.

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The Wesleyan Methodist Conference in 1830, *Resolved*. "That as a body of Christian ministers, they feel themselves called upon again to record their solemn judgment, that the holding of human beings in a state of slavery, *is in direct opposition to all the principles of natural rights and to the benign spirit of the religion of Christ.*"

"That the Conference fully concur in *those strong moral views of the evil of slavery*, which are taken by their fellow Christians of different denominations;—and that they express

persecution for the slave—the affection and gratitude of the slaves, &c. &c., many tears were shed by the slave-holding members of the Conference. Their emotion was great, while the Doctor, a slave-holder himself, as we are informed, was spreading before them the picture of their many afflictions, and their eyes were imploringly directed at times towards the place where their abolition brethren sat.

The amount of all we could gather, was, that ministers of the gospel, in the south, if they did their duty faithfully, were liable to persecution.

After Dr. Capers had concluded, the Conference had a recess till 3 o'clock, P. M.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION.

*May 13th.*—There was much small talk. We have notes of only one member's speech. We think this was delivered, on the offering of an amendment by Mr. Scott. The debate had been generally gotten through with, and it seemed to be understood that the resolutions would pass. The question was about to be taken, when Mr. Scott moved to amend the second resolution, by inserting immediately after the words, 'Abolitionism in whole and in part,' the following—'and that we also disapprove of slavery.' This gave rise to some remarks, when a member suggested that it would be better to amend, by inserting the words of the Discipline in reference to slavery, which are 'that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery.' Mr. Scott immediately agreed to adopt this, and offered it in the place of his original amendment. An animated discussion now arose on the adoption of this amendment. The majority were doubtless a good deal embarrassed. One, in his simplicity said,—he did not conceive how any brother could object to incorporating into the resolution, a sentiment which they had already avowed, as a church. But he evidently mistook the mark. There was great objection. Southern members soon placed the matter in its true light. The incorporation of this sentiment in the resolutions, would neutralize entirely the original design and tendency of them. If the amendment were adopted, the resolutions could not be sent to the south. The amendment would be construed as designed to cloak the real opinions of the Conference. That body would most certainly be charged with abolitionism. Mr. Winans, of Mississippi, begged leave to state a fact, which would show how unpopular, under present circumstances, would be any such amendment. The particulars, we are unable to recollect, but this was the amount. An excitement had been occasioned in New Orleans against Methodists. The Mayor of the city had been informed, by some interested person, of the article in the discipline, in relation to slavery.

From this it was inferred, that the Methodists were genuine abolitionists. The excitement was not allayed, until a clergyman of another persuasion, took the Discipline, went to the mayor, showed him the article, and explained to him, that it had been inserted in the *early* period of the church, and that it was not a new thing. We are at a loss to give the precise words of Mr. Winans; but the impression made on us was, that the article in relation to slavery, was introduced, when the circumstances of the church were different from what they are now:—that *now*, the article is in fact a *dead letter*.

The members from the free states, when they saw the stand taken by their southern brethren on the subject, were generally in favor of rejecting the amendment,—not, they asserted, because they did not adhere to the sentiments of their discipline; but the object was now, to allay the excitement of abolition, and satisfy the public mind of their opposition to it. With regard to slavery, their opinion was already expressed, and stood out in their discipline to the notice of the world. Mr. Scott thought, that, if it were necessary, on the one hand to guard against abolition, it was no less necessary on the other, to guard against slavery. He thought this was indeed an alarming period,—when Methodist ministers shrunk from openly declaring, what they avowed in the discipline as their creed. He did hope that brethren would not reject the amendment, and thus virtually abrogate a part of their own Discipline. He made many other forcible and eloquent remarks, in the midst of which he was called to order by Mr. Holmes, of the Pittsburg Conference, who supposed, that the speaker had violated one of the rules of order, in speaking twice on the same subject. Mr. Scott was pronounced by the chair in order, because, *before*, he had spoken to the original resolution; *now*, he was speaking to the amendment. Mr. Holmes manifested a disposition to persist, which, however, not being encouraged, he sat down.

Not long after Mr. Scott had concluded, Mr. SMITH, of Virginia,—began by professing to be a *man*, a *christian* a *gentleman*. As a man, he had feelings which had been whipped and goaded on every side during this debate; as a christian, he disavowed, before God and the Conference, harboring any unkind sentiments towards his abolition brethren. He could not entertain harsh feelings towards any man. Reflections had passed through his mind, while considering the unfortunate situation in which those brethren had placed themselves, which brought tears to his eyes.

He was sorry for the course his southern brethren had taken in relation to these resolutions. The abstract question of slavery, they ought not to have discussed. Indulgence in such discussions was lowering their dignity—prostrating them



before the American nation. Slavery was to be looked at, not in the abstract, but the concrete, as it was in *fact*. Abolition was fraught with the most mischievous consequences. He here read an extract from, we presume, an abolition paper—to this amount, that any American citizen who holds another as a slave, is guilty of a crime irreconcilable with the spirit of christianity. He remarked, that the *inference* from this was, that the slave-holder was no christian. ‘Must such men,’ said he, ‘whip in hand, booted and spurred,’ ride over our feelings? As we live—as God lives—it becomes brethren to pause. Modern abolitionism proclaimed her own consummate folly, when, in the same breath, on the very heels, of the declaration, that slave-holders are criminals against God and man—guilty of the most God-provoking crimes, she turns round and tells them that she does not unchristianize them.

Here Mr. SCOTT rose and asked explicitly whether the speaker had any allusion to him—for if so, he was misrepresenting him. Mr. Smith turned towards him, and exclaimed, ‘I have no more to do with that brother, than if he did not exist;’ and with great heat he added, ‘I wish *to God*, he were in Heaven.’ He added something in an under tone about wishing all abolitionists there, and himself if ever he should become one. Some remarks were here made by the chair; when Mr. Smith said, he had so often been called by these men, a man stealer, &c. that by this time he was perfectly used to them. That brother (alluding to Mr. Scott) was perfectly sincere, but *he* knew nothing more about abolitionism than *he* did about slavery.

He then read another extract from the same paper giving as he said, another feature of abolitionism. The amount of it was, that slavery should be renounced now and forever. The objection to it, was, that it was impracticable. The attempt to do such an act, would array against them all the feeling of the south. If success chanced to attend the measures of abolition, all those consequences would inevitably follow, which had been depicted by the brother, who had spoken in the morning.

Modern abolitionism was to be seen in what it did, rather than what it professed. In its effects, it was inflammatory in the north, and incendiary in the south. Its withering influence had been felt in the church—in the Quarterly meeting—in the class room. The blight of heaven had followed, wherever it prevailed. Brethren from the north would testify to this fact; if they would not, he would upon oath. He knew the societies—the associations in which this effect was manifest.

Modern abolitionism was a great political and religious

heresy. Its design was to array all the moral and religious feeling of the people against the political institutions of the land; and it was in direct contravention of the book he held in his hand, [the New Testament.] The Apostle Paul, when he went forth to preach the Gospel, found slavery in the world, and recognized it. He relied on preaching Christ crucified, as the great means for remedying every evil. He formed no abolition societies. He [Mr. Smith,] and his brethren of the south, expected, by preaching Christ, to accomplish all that could be accomplished. These abolition brethren, are for interfering with the political institutions of the land. They had engaged in a crusade—harangues, petitions, memorials, addressing political assemblies—nothing was left untried. In all these respects, they had departed from the example of the Apostles. The Discipline of the Church, moreover, authorized no interference with the political institutions of the country.

They, of the south, entreated of their brethren of the north, just to let them alone. If they would not hear to this, why then they must part. Either abolitionists would have to separate from them, or they from abolitionists. Such inevitably would be the result, unless the brethren should change their course.

After a little more discussion, the question, was called for, and on the votes being counted, it was found, that 123 *voted against the amendment—against incorporating in the resolution, that, “they were as much as ever, convinced of the great evil of slavery.”* The members of the New England and New Hampshire Delegations, fourteen in number, voted for it.

The vote was then taken on the resolutions themselves—they were both carried by large majorities. A resolution was also introduced to have them published in the city journals generally. This, we understand, was afterwards reconsidered and recalled—the publishing order being limited to the Western Christian Advocate.

#### SEQUEL.

*Saturday morning.*—We have been told, for we were not present, that on the meeting of the Conference, Mr. Crowder remarked, that it had been thought by some, that his remark on the preceding day, asserting that his cook, one of his slaves, *dressed as well as the wives of the northern brethren,* was offensive. He intended by it nothing offensive to those brethren, for he was willing to include his own wife with theirs. Indeed, he and Mrs. Crowder, when they determined to retain the two slaves, mentioned by him, before, had resolved that the slaves should dress as well as they (Mr. and Mrs. C.) did.

He repeated that nothing injurious to the feeling of others was intended. However, said he, if it is the desire of the Conference, I will take back all my remarks relating to this part of the subject.

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NOTE.—The editor of the *Philanthropist*, having been informed that many members of the Conference were anxious to see the sketch of the Debate, as it would be published in that journal, addressed the following note to that body:—

*To the General Conference of the M. E. Church:—*

In the *Philanthropist*—of which the undersigned is editor—there will be published, this week, a sketch of your late debate on Slavery. Should it be agreeable to your body, fifty copies of it, or more, will, on publication, be sent to the Conference room, without charge, for the use of its members.

Very Respectfully,

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

*Cincinnati, Thursday Morning, May, 18, 1836.*

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[FROM THE PHILANTHROPIST.]

We are sorry to report, that the above offer, made in the spirit of kindness, met with a very unsuitable response from the body to which it was directed. On the reading of the note, by the presiding officer, some member—we are not informed *who*, and we were not present—moved to *lay it on the table*. This was carried, as it were, by acclamation—Mr. Roszell remarking, that he regretted *this* motion was made, as he had intended to move, that the writer have *leave to withdraw his note*.

Notwithstanding what has passed, any member of the Conference can be supplied with a number of the *Philanthropist*, containing the Debate, by making known to us his desire to have it.

## SECOND PART.

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### *An Address, to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

[BY A MEMBER OF THAT BODY.]

FATHERS AND BRETHREN—

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Slavery takes away the key of knowledge—withholds the Holy Scriptures—crushes the intellect of God's intelligent creatures—exposes to insult without protection, a million of the females of this land—separates husbands and wives, parents and children—places all the religious privileges and domestic enjoyments of millions of our fellow citizens beyond their control, or at the disposal of their masters—and often compels to labors and hardships which are inhumanly wasting to health and life.—And is this *WHOLLY a political subject?* Are there no *great moral principles* involved in this system? Is there nothing that ought to excite the sympathy, prayers, and exertions of Christians and christian ministers? Ought

we not to “remember those in bonds as bound with them?” Is it nothing to christian ministers, that the Bible is withheld from one sixth part of our entire population in this country? And that there are hundreds of thousands of pagans in the midst of us? And must we connive at this bloody and cruel system, because forsooth, it is a very delicate subject? Will it ever be less delicate?

We censure, and very justly, the Papists for withholding the Scriptures from the common people, and yet we withhold not only the Bible, but the knowledge of letters from the slave population of this country! The laws of the slave holding states, in general, prohibit the teaching a slave to read or write, under *heavy penalties*. A second offence of teaching a slave in some of the slave states, is punishable with death. We admit, that in despite of all law, in some few instances, slaves are taught to read, but these spots are so few in number, and so distant from each other, as only to make the mental darkness the more visible. The great mass, I may say, the *great whole* of the slave population are entirely destitute of all means of instruction. The tree of knowledge, to them, is guarded by a flaming sword pointing every way. The master's *interest* and *security* are both intimately connected with the ignorance of his slaves!

However great the insult offered to the slave, however cruel the treatment he receives, he has *no redress*—he may not be a witness against a white man in *any way*! There is no eye to see his sufferings, but that eye which penetrates all hearts. The slave has no adequate protection for his person or friends. Every hour the parent is liable to be separated from the child, and the husband from the wife, to meet no more on this side the grave! We admit, that in buying and selling slaves, there is, in some instances, a disposition manifested to avoid separating families, and yet the most *heart-rending separations* often take place! But this is a *political* thing; ministers of the Gospel have nothing to do with it. Indeed! Tell it not in heathen countries!

Permit me, dear brethren, to call your attention to some of the principal arguments, on both sides, which were brought forward in the late discussion of slavery and abolition. This appears to me the more necessary, inasmuch as the arguments of brother Scott, were scarcely noticed by the speakers on the other side—and inasmuch, also, as he was not permitted to speak but once on the question, and of course could not reply to their arguments. And as the arguments of the speakers who followed brother Scott, were not replied to by any one, it may be profitable to us to make a short reply; and to take a summary view of the whole discussion. About *eleven hours* were consumed in the discussion—two of which were

occupied by brother Scott, and about one by other brethren on the same side; leaving *eight* to our slave-holding, and anti-abolitionist brethren!

When brother S., commenced his speech, he stated, that he felt it his duty to let the Conference know what *modern* abolitionism was, before it should be condemned by the passage of a resolution which was then pending. He then assumed the position, that the principles of slavery,—the principle which justifies holding and treating the human species as property, is morally wrong,—or in other words, that it is a *sin*. The principle, he contended, aside from all circumstances, is *evil*, ONLY EVIL, and that CONTINUALLY! He said no hand could sanctify it—no circumstances could change it from bad to good. It was a reprobate—too bad to be converted—not subject to the law of God, neither indeed, could be. He admitted that circumstances might palliate, and circumstances might aggravate, but no circumstances could justify the *principle*. If any circumstances could justify the right of property in human beings—then we had only to change some of the circumstances with which slavery is connected, and it becomes universally right—so that in this case, the sin would be in the circumstances. The abstract question was argued at considerable length. It was insisted that slavery was morally right, or morally wrong, or that it had no moral character. The first and last of these suppositions, he considered *absurd*; and contended, that “He who has made of one blood, all nations of men to dwell on the earth,” must look with *disapprobation* upon such a system of complicated wrongs, as American slavery.

The speaker then attempted to show, that such views of slavery among Methodists, and Methodist ministers, are not “modern,” by extracts from Wesley, Clarke, our fathers in this country—and our brethren on the other side the Atlantic. And these quotations show, that clear, plain, pointed denunciations of slavery, are not peculiar to “modern abolitionism.” Read the following, and then judge whether our fathers believed slavery to be a sin against God and the rights of humanity.

“And this equally concerns every gentleman that has an estate in our American plantations; yea, all slave-holders, of whatever rank and degree; *seeing men buyers are exactly on a level with men stealers*. Indeed you say, “I pay honestly for my goods; and I am not concerned to know how they are come by.” Nay, but you are; you are deeply concerned to know they are honestly come by.—Otherwise you are a partaker with a thief, and are not a jot honest than him. But you know they are not honestly come by; you know they are procured by means nothing near so innocent as picking

of pockets, house breaking, or robbery on the highway. You know they are procured by a deliberate series of more complicated villainy, (of fraud, robbery, and murder,) than was ever practiced either by Mahomedans or Pagans; in particular, by murders, of all kind; by the blood of the innocent poured upon the ground like water. Now, it is your money that pays the merchant, and through him the captain and African butchers. You, therefore, are guilty, yea, principally guilty, of all these frauds, robberies, and murders. You are the spring that puts all the rest in motion; they would not stir a step without you; therefore, the blood of all these wretches who die before their time, whether in their country or elsewhere, lies upon your head. "The blood of thy brother" (for, whether thou wilt believe it or no, such he is in the sight of Him that made him) "cryeth against thee from the earth," from the ship, and from the waters. O, whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it is too late: instantly, at any price, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood guiltiness! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, thy lands, are at present stained with blood. Surely it is enough; accumulate no more guilt; spill no more the blood of the innocent! Do not hire another to shed blood; do not pay him for doing it! Whether you are a Christian or no, show yourself a man!—Be not more savage than a lion or a bear.

Perhaps you will say, "I do not buy any negroes; I only use those left me by my father." So far it is well; but is it enough to satisfy your own conscience? *Had your father, have you, has any man living, a right to use another as a slave? It cannot be, even setting Revelation aside.* It cannot be, that either war, or contract, can give any man such a property in another as he has in his sheep and oxen. Much less is it possible that any child of man should ever be born a slave. Liberty is the right of every human creature; as soon as he breathes the vital air; *and no human law can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature.*

If, therefore, you have any regard to justice, (to say nothing of mercy, nor the revealed law of God,) render unto all their due. Give liberty to whom liberty is due, that is, to every child of man, to every partaker of human nature. Let none serve you but by his own act and deed, by his own voluntary choice. Away with all whips, all chains, all compulsion! Be gentle toward all men; and see that you invariably do unto every one as you would he should do unto you."

J. WESLEY.

"In heathen countries, slavery was in some sort excusable; but among Christians it is an *enormity* and a *crime* for which perdition has scarcely an adequate state of punishment."

DR. A. CLARKE.

In extending the evil of slavery in this nation, the Methodist Episcopal Church, has, it is feared, for thirty-five or forty years past, exerted an unhappy influence. Four years before our church was organized in this country, that is, in 1780, the Conference bore the following testimony against it:—

*“The Conference acknowledges that slavery is contrary to THE LAWS OF GOD, MAN AND NATURE, and hurtful to society; CONTRARY TO THE DICTATES OF CONSCIENCE AND PURE RELIGION; and doing what we would not that others should do unto us; and they pass their DISAPPROBATION upon all our friends who keep slaves, and they advise their freedom.”*

And from Lee's History of the Methodists, page 101, we learn that the M. E. Church was organized, with a number of express rules upon this subject, which stipulated that slavery *should not be continued* in the Church. One of them was as follows:

*“Every member in our society shall legally execute and record an instrument [for the purpose of setting every slave in his possession free,] within the space of two years.”*

And another was as follows:

*“Every person concerned who will not comply with these rules, shall have liberty quietly to withdraw from our society within the twelve months following, the notice being given him as aforesaid: otherwise, the assistant shall exclude him from the society.”*

And again another rule declared that,

*“Those who bought or sold SLAVES, or gave them away, unless on purpose to free them, should be expelled immediately.”*

In the edition of our Discipline also, printed in 1801, we find a number of rules upon the same subject, but which as you are aware, together with the above, have long since been left out of the Disciplinary regulations of our church, and consequently many of our ministers and members are the owners of slaves; and for a number of years past, the number has been increasing in the Christian church, and in the nation; nor do we expect that this “great evil,” will ever be effectually checked in its progress, till christians and christian ministers cease to countenance it by their EXAMPLE.—

The present form of Discipline does not contain one fourth part of the article headed “Slavery” which we find in the Discipline of 1801. We suppose the greatest part of that article was left out of the Discipline at the General Conference of 1804 or 1808, as it is not in the copy which we have seen published sometime in the year 1808.

#### OF SLAVERY.

*“Question.* What regulations shall be made for the extirpation of the crying evil of African slavery?



*Answer, 1.* We declare that we are more than ever convinced of the great evil of African slavery, which still exists in these United States, and do most earnestly recommend to the Yearly Conferences, Quarterly Meetings, and to those who have the oversight of Districts and Circuits, to be exceedingly cautious what persons they admit to official stations in our church; and in the case of future admission to official stations, to require such security of those who hold slaves, for the emancipation of them, *immediately*, or *gradually*, as the laws of the States respectively, and the circumstances of the case will admit; and we do fully authorize all the Yearly Conferences to make whatever regulation they judge proper, in the present case, respecting the admission of persons to official stations in our church.

2. When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, *by any means*, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he executes, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives.

3. No slave-holder shall be received into society, till the preacher who has the oversight of the Circuit, has spoken to him freely and faithfully upon the subject of slavery.

4. Every member of the society, who sells a slave, shall immediately, after full proof, be excluded from the society: and if any member of our society purchase a slave, the ensuing Quarterly Meeting shall determine on the number of years, in which the slave so purchased would work out the price of his purchase. And the person so purchasing, shall immediately after such determination, execute a legal instrument for the manumission of such slave, at the expiration of the term determined by the Quarterly Meeting. And in default of his executing such instrument of manumission, or on his refusal to submit his case to the judgment of the Quarterly Meeting, such member shall be excluded the society. Provided also, that in the case of a female slave, it shall be inserted in the aforesaid instrument of manumission, that all her children who shall be born during the years of her servitude, shall be free at the following times, namely—every female child at the age of *twenty-one*, and every male child at the age of *twenty-five*. Nevertheless, if the member of our society, executing the said instrument of manumission, judge it proper, he may fix the times of manumission of the female slaves before mentioned, at an earlier age than that which is prescribed above.

5. The preachers and other members of our society, are requested to consider the subject of negro slavery with deep attention; and that they impart to the General Conference, through the medium of the Yearly Conferences, or otherwise.

any important thoughts upon the subject, that the Conference may have full light, in order to take further steps towards the eradicating this enormous evil from that part of the church of God to which they are connected.

6. The Annual Conferences are directed to draw up addresses for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, to the legislatures of those States, in which no general laws have been passed for that purpose. These addresses shall urge in the most respectful, but pointed manner, the necessity of a law for the gradual emancipation of the slaves; proper committees shall be appointed, by the Annual Conferences, out of the most respectable of our friends, for the conducting of the business; and the Presiding Elders, Elders, Deacons, and Travelling Preachers, shall procure as many proper signatures as possible to the addresses; and give all the assistance in their power, in every respect, to aid the committees, and to further this blessed undertaking. LET THIS BE CONTINUED FROM YEAR TO YEAR, TILL THE DESIRED END BE ACCOMPLISHED."

"If it is wrong to steal men from Africa, to reduce them to a state of bondage; it is, for the same reason, to retain them in slavery. If you condemn the first thief, and the first receiver of the stolen goods; how will you justify those who, knowing them to be stolen, continue to retain them? I confess that I cannot see how the perpetuation of an injury can cause it to cease to be an injury, or by what process an acknowledged wrong can be transmuted into a right by continuing in it. My argument then is, if it was wrong to enslave the negroes, it is wrong to keep them in hopeless bondage: and it follows, that, after this country had renounced the African slave trade, it was bound by the very principles on which that wretched traffic was repudiated, to have taken measures for the liberation of all who had thus been wickedly reduced to a state of captivity, at the earliest period at which their liberation could have been made consistent with their own interests, and long before this time to have converted them into a free, industrious and happy peasantry."

R. WATSON.

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The Wesleyan Methodist Conference in 1830, *Resolved*, "That as a body of Christian ministers, they feel themselves called upon again to record their solemn judgment, that the holding of human beings in a state of slavery, *is in direct opposition to all the principles of natural rights and to the benign spirit of the religion of Christ.*"

"That the Conference fully concur in *those strong moral views of the evil of slavery*, which are taken by their fellow Christians of different denominations;—and that they express

their sympathy with an injured portion of their race, and their *abhorrence of all those principles* on which it is attempted to defend the subjection of human beings to hopeless and interminable slavery.”

To the above, many similar quotations might be added. But enough have been adduced to show, that our fathers, as well as ourselves, believed slavery to be something beside a *mere political thing*;—and enough also to show, that *we have strangely and widely departed from the ancient landmarks of our church regulations upon this subject.*

Mr. S. then alluded to the Scripture view of slavery, and expressed his sentiments upon that point in the language of the Synod of Kentucky, which is as follows:

It is often pleaded that in the Old Testament, God himself expressly permitted his people to enslave the Canaanites. True; for God may punish any of the children of sin as he sees fit—He has a right to do so, and *He alone has a right.* He may commission either the winds, or the waves, or the pestilence, or their fellow men, to work his purpose of vengeance upon any people. But *man has no right to arrogate the prerogative of the Almighty—he has no right, uncommissioned by his Maker, either to enslave or destroy his fellow.*—God commissioned Saul to exterminate the Amalekites—could we plead this as an excuse for the massacre of an Indian tribe? God expressly directed his prophet Samuel to hew Agag in pieces—could any of us allege this as a ground for cutting down every man who he considered as an enemy of Zion’s King? How, then, can any man assert, that because God determined to punish the Canaanites, and used the Isrealites as the executioners of his decree, we are at liberty to obey the dictates of our own avarice, and hold our fellow men in bondage? Is not such a perversion of God’s Holy Word more shocking than Belshazzar’s desecration of the sacred vessels of the sanctuary, when he and his concubines drank wine out of them amid the drunken revelry of his impious feast.

We are told, again, that the apostles gave to Christian masters and Christian servants directions for the regulation of their mutual conduct. True; and these directions will be valuable while the world lasts—for so long, we doubt not, will *the relation of master and servant exist.* But how do such directions license holding of slaves? *The terms which the apostles use in giving these precepts, are the same terms which they would have used, had there been no slaves upon the earth.*—Many of the masters of that day were indeed slaveholders, and many of the servants were slaves—but should that circumstance have prevented the inspired ambassadors

from teaching the duties which devolve on masters and servants, in every age, and under every form of service? If so, then the fact that rulers at that time were generally tyrants, and the people vassals, should have prevented them from laying down the duties of rulers and people. In the precepts of holy writ, neither *political tyranny* nor *domestic slavery* is countenanced. Nay, if masters complied with the apostolic injunction to them, and gave their servants as they were directed to do, "that which is just and equal," there would be at once an end of all that is properly called slavery.

The divine right of kings to tyrannize over their subjects, and the unlawfulness of resistance to their authority on the part of the people, were formerly maintained by the very same kind of scriptural arguments, which are now advanced in support of slavery. The arguments drawn from the Bible in favor of despotism, are, indeed, much more plausible than those in favor of slavery. We despise the former—how then should we regard the latter?

It has been sometimes said, that the '*New Testament does not condemn slave-holding in express terms.*' And the practice has been advocated, because it has not been thus denounced. If this assertion were true, and if the Bible only *virtually* denounced it, it would be a sin. No man can righteously continue a practice which God disapproves of, no matter in what form the disapproval is expressed. But the assertion is not true. THE NEW TESTAMENT DOES CONDEMN SLAVE-HOLDING, AS PRACTISED AMONG US, IN THE MOST EXPLICIT TERMS FURNISHED BY THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH THE INSPIRED PENMEN WROTE. If a physician, after a minute examination, should tell a patient, that his every limb and organ was diseased.—If he should enumerate the various parts of his bodily system, the arms, the legs, the head, the stomach, the bowels, &c., and should say of each one of these parts distinctly that it was unsound; could the man depart and say, 'after all I am not diseased, for the physician has not said in *express terms* that my *body* is unsound?' Has he not received a *more clear and express declaration* of his entirely diseased condition, than if he had been told in merely general terms, that his *body* was unsound? Thus has God condemned slavery. He has specified the parts which compose it, and denounced them, one by one in the most ample and unequivocal form. In the English language we have the term *servant*, which we apply discriminately both to those held in voluntary subjection to another, and to those whose subjection is involuntary. We have also the term *slave*, which is applicable exclusively to those held in involuntary subjection. The Greek language had a word corresponding, exactly, in signification, with our word *servant*; but it had none that answered, precisely to our term *slave*. How then

was an apostle, writing in Greek, to condemn *our slavery*? Could it be done in the way, which some seem to think it must be done, before they could be convinced of its sinfulness? How can we expect to find in Scripture the words 'slavery is sinful,' when the language in which it is written contained no term which expressed the meaning of our word slavery? Would the advocates of slavery wish us to show that the apostles declare it to be unchristian to hold servants (*douloi*)? This would have been denouncing, as criminal, practices far different from slave-holding. But inspiration taught the holy penmen the only correct and efficacious method of conveying their condemnation of this unchristian system.—They pronounce of *each one of those several things which constitute slavery that is sinful*—thus clearly and forever denouncing the system, wherever it might appear, and whatever name it might assume. If a writer should take up each part of our federal constitution separately, and condemn it article by article, who would have the folly to assert that, after all he had *not expressly condemned the constitution*? Who would say that this thorough and entire disapproval of every part of the instrument of confederation must pass for nothing, and is no proof of the writers hostility to it because he has never said in exactly so many words, 'I disapprove of the constitution of the United States?' We see that he could condemn it most explicitly and thoroughly, without ever mentioning it by name.

The above is an extract from a very able address of the Presbyterian Synod of a slave-holding state. The whole address is well worth a careful perusal—and it should put the ministers and Christians of the free states to the *blush of shame!*

The speaker next proceeded to show, that if slavery be a *sin*, as he contended it was, it ought of course to be immediately abandoned. The abolitionists meant by immediate emancipation, the *immediate cessation of the right assumed of property in man*. Not turning the slaves loose upon community, to roam at large without law—but the placing them under good and wholesome laws—they are not now known in law except as goods and chattels—let them be emancipated *into law*.

Immediate emancipation is not as some have supposed an amalgamation of the whites and blacks—there is too much of this already—we would prevent it—but should we cease to lift up our voice against the most cruel oppression through a fear, that should slavery be abolished, some white woman might at some distant period happen to marry a black man, *no! no!! NO!!!*

Immediate emancipation does not necessarily imply the investment of the slaves with equal political privileges with the whites—though it is believed, that it would be difficult to show why the color of a man's skin should deprive him of his civil or political rights—yet this is another question.

The slaves may be free in a *good sense*, though not admitted immediately to equal political right. In the state of Rhode Island, though a man be worth a hundred thousand dollars, yet if he does not possess real estate to the amount of one hundred and fifty dollars, he is not admitted to the polls—and yet we never supposed this a *state of slavery*.

The abolitionists, said Mr. S. in common with most of their fellow citizens believe that our general government has the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the territories—and that if slavery be *sin* it is a sin for which every citizen of the United States is responsible! But Congress will not abolish slavery till the people call for it—and the people will not call for it, till they feel it to be wrong—and they will not feel it to be wrong, till they investigate and examine it.

*Hence the propriety and necessity of discussion.*

All right to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the slave states belongs exclusively to the legislators of those states. The general government has no authority to interfere with the political relations of master and slave in the slave states.

The abolitionists would not countenance any resort, by the slaves, to physical force to obtain their freedom on any account. They have been accused of trying to get up insurrections among the slaves, but *it is FALSE!* We do indeed believe, that any citizen of the world has a right to oppose *any sin, wherever it may exist*—even though it be legalized by human laws. If therefore slavery be sin, it is not only our privilege, but our solemn duty to oppose it.

We find it very convenient to apologize for the present race of slave-holders by saying slavery was imposed upon us when we were British colonies; but we are unwilling to receive any aid from England in getting rid of it. “O yes! It is a very delicate subject—and one with which foreigners must not intermeddle!”

Brother S. proceeded:—

Slavery will never be abolished by peaceful measures till the subject shall have been freely and fully discussed—and that discussion as a matter of course, must commence in the north. It cannot be discussed in the south;—we must therefore discuss it in the north, or not at all. But there are no slaves in the north! True; but there are 26,000 in the D. C. and in the territories.

Mr. President, we think we can judge as correctly respecting the character of slavery in the *abstract*, as slave-holders can. Nay; it is reasonable to suppose we should be less likely to err than they—for we have no interest, at stake. It is more difficult to judge correctly where interest is involved. It is not a very easy matter to see through a *silver dollar*!

Neither the rum-seller, or the drunkard is the best qualified to judge of the sin of intemperance—nor are these the persons to commence a temperance reformation!

As ministers and Christians we ought to oppose this “crying evil.” In it, our church, and our ministers are deeply involved. The groanings of the prisoner call loudly for our prayers and our exertions. It is a happy circumstance that the leaders in this discussion are generally ministers of the gospel—who in point of politics, have nothing to hope or fear. And while we disclaim all intention to interfere with the political relation of master and slave in the slave states, we will not cease to preach against this *great evil* because the laws of the slave-holding states sanction it,—nor because the power of moral suasion may become so strong as to lead the people of the north to elect such representatives to Congress as will vote for the abolition of slavery in the D. C. and in the territories. We mean to lift up our voice like a trumpet—and show the inhabitants of this land their sins!

We know it is an “exciting subject”—but we have yet to learn, that a good cause should be abandoned because it produces excitement.

Moses and Aaron produced excitement in the court of Pharaoh when they contended for the rights and liberties of the Isrealites—when our fathers asserted their liberties, and threw off the British yoke, it produced *great excitement*.

The reformation under Luther, was a very exciting subject. When the seeds of Methodism were first sown both in Europe and America, the whole community were excited. The temperance discussion has produced great excitement in various parts of our country—and every revival of religion excites and irritates the community more or less. We have never dreamed that so great a change could take place in our country as the abolition of slavery without great excitement. When the “craft” of men is in danger, they will be excited.

“But if the North do not give up this discussion the Union will be divided.” Who will divide it? The North will not do this—and what have the South to gain by it? [If the South divide the Union, they loose at that moment all northern support in case of insurrection—their safety now consists in their union with the North. Let the South divide the Union and make a war upon the North—they must support it either with white or colored soldiers. If they march their

white men against the North who will take care of their women and children left in the hands of the slaves at home? If they arm their slaves and march them out to fight the abolitionists, who will guarantee their master's cause? If the Union is divided, will the line of division be impassible! Will not the servant be free from his master the moment he steps across the line? Can the division of the Union keep anti-slavery publications out of the South? And the moment the Union is divided will not the entire North, both church and state, be abolitionists to a man? Is it not the union of the states, and of the church, which keeps up a spirit of slavery in the North, and will the *South* sever that cord which binds to them their *northern apologists*? No, sir, never; unless they wish to *hasten emancipation*. They may *threaten*, as they have ever been in the habit of doing, but that will be all. They can never be so blind to their own interests as to divide the Union for the sake of destroying abolitionists? This word only adds new fury to the "unhallowed flame," as the brother from Baltimore calls it.] But Mr. President, if abolitionism is *constitutional*, what pretext is there to be for a division of the Union? I take the ground, sir, that we are protected by the Constitution of the United States. Let us look at this subject for a moment. And 1. The Constitution recognizes the existence of slavery. 2. It permits continuance. 3. It secures servants to their masters *wherever* they are found, if demanded. But 4. It does not *enjoin* slavery as a *duty*. 5. It does not *prohibit* emancipation. And *lastly*, It *guarantees* the freedom of speech, and of the press, and the right of petition. Will the South divide the Union because we in the North are pursuing a constitutional course?

But it is said that this abolition discussion is not conducive to the peace of the church? Suppose this were admitted; are there no interests to be consulted beside to peace of the church? It may not, perhaps, be always best, that the church be at peace. There may be "ease in Zion," connected with a "wedge of gold and a Babylonish garment." The Methodist Episcopal Church has an unholy alliance with slavery—she ought not, therefore, to give herself any peace till she cleanses the skirts of her garment from "blood guiltiness"! Shall the dearest interests of *undying millions* be sacrificed upon the altar of the peace of the church? But the church will be divided. And what will divide it? The church is built upon a rock—and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. If therefore, abolition is from *beneath*, the church is safe—for the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And if abolition is from above, (of which I have no more doubt than of the truths of Christianity,) it will never harm the Church. All *future* consequences to the Union and



the Church, are, at best, *imaginary*. They may be realized, and they may not. Shall we then suffer *imaginary consequences* to determine our duty, when we have a more unerring rule? Had we always acted on this principle; where would the temperance reformation and many other important enterprises always have been? Imaginary consequences are a new standard of duty for a body of Christian ministers, and very unbecoming in the nineteenth century.

I come now, Mr. President, to notice a few things which were stated on the floor of this Conference yesterday, and then I have done. An aged and venerable brother from Baltimore, called the abolition excitement an "unhallowed flame"—and this expression he has several times repeated on this floor. Now, sir, this *same* unhallowed flame has burnt off the chains from 600,000 goods and chattels in the West India islands, and elevated them to the rank of human beings! Abolitionism is one in all parts of the world. We are not trying an experiment—we are walking in a beaten track. Our principles have been fully tested and we have no fears as to the final results. The day of our national jubilee may linger, but it will come at last—and *it cannot tarry long!* Had it not been for the abolitionists, the 600,000 colored freemen in the West India islands, had still been goods and chattels! And do you ask what the abolitionists have done? Let the 600,000 goods and chattels metamorphosed into peaceable, industrious and happy freemen answer the question! Let a ship load of *fifty-nine tons* of Bibles testify to the good effects of emancipation! Through the influence of this "unhallowed flame" some scores of slaves have been set at liberty *in this country*. A gentleman in this city has emancipated his slaves, through the influence of abolition doctrines. The fires of abolition are now burning deep and wide—the leaven of liberty is now working through the whole lump—and the axe is laid at the root of the tree—the whole country is awake, and the day of our redemption is at hand!

The *impropriety* of attempting to brave public opinion has been suggested on this floor. But, sir, if public opinion is wrong it ought to be braved? Shall truth and righteousness succumb to public opinion without stopping to inquire whether that public opinion is right or wrong? If public opinion is wrong, let it be set right—and in order to this, let it be braved by a firm adherence to right principles! However few in number the advocates of truth may be, let them not swerve the breadth of a hair from right principles! Let there be no compromise between truth and error.

Public opinion was against Daniel, when he was commanded not to pray for thirty days, but he braved it—and in defiance of the king's decree, continued to pray with his win-

dows open towards Jerusalem. Public opinion was against the three Hebrews, when they refused to worship the "golden image," and to obey laws which infringed upon the rights of conscience. They braved public opinion, and stood it out against the stern decree of the king! Did they do right? The apostles braved public opinion in every place where they planted the standard of the cross. Martin Luther and his followers did the same at the risk of their lives! John Wesley and his coadjutors in England, braved public opinion. When Mr. Wesley was expelled from the churches, he preached in grave-yards, public markets, and open fields! And though public opinion *commanded* Mr. Wesley to desist through the medium of *mobs*—still he stood it out! Shame on his *compromising sons*! The Methodists in all parts of the United States have braved, and finally to a considerable extent, *changed* public opinion. Every man's hand has been against us and yet we have stood *firm*. But now comes up the new doctrine of *compromise*!! Let it be banished from the breast of every patriot, philanthropist and Christian.—The advocates of temperance, have *braved* and *changed* public opinion. The same may be said of Wilberforce, and the English abolitionists. And with all these examples before us, shall we succumb to an unholy public opinion, founded in the *love of gain*? Shall we turn our backs upon the cause of suffering humanity because public opinion frowns upon us? *No! NEVER!!*

Mr. President, Rev. J. A. Collins has told us that he came up here flush with the expectation, "that the brethren from the North would put their foot on abolitionism and crush it." And have we yet to learn, sir, that free discussion is not to be put down in this way? When you can put your foot on one of the burning mountains and smother its fires—when you can roll back the current of the thundering falls of the Niagara—or stop the sun in its course, you may then begin to think about "crushing abolitionism"! *Sir, the die is cast—the days of the captivity of our country are numbered! THEIR REDEMPTION IS WRITTEN IN HEAVEN!!*

*Any action* which this conference may take on this subject—will give to abolitionism both strength and stability. It cannot be voted down,—it cannot be persecuted down—it has braved public opinion and mob-law too long to think of yielding now to *votes of censure*. Any resolutions you may pass, for or against abolitionism, will bring it into notice, and set it on a higher and firmer foundation—The resolutions of this Conference may retard the emancipation of the slaves, but they cannot check abolition. If you would not contribute to the permanency and spread of abolitionism, you had better practice on the suggestion of the brother from Ohio,

(Rev. D. Young,) and “not touch it with your tongues.” This he tells us, has been *his* course. But let it be remembered that these are the men who are to sit as our judges—men who, in point of examination, and a knowledge of what they condemn, have not so much as touched it with their tongues—and yet they are prepared to express their “unqualified” disapprobation of that of which they acknowledged their *entire ignorance!* O, how strangely have we departed from the foot-steps of our fathers!

Several of the speakers yesterday alluded to mobs—and expressed their fears for the personal safety of the two brethren who attended the abolition meeting last Tuesday—but *not a word fell from their lips in condemnation of mobs! No! Not a syllable!!* Sir, we are assured by the citizens of this place, that there will be no mob, *unless the General Conference get it up!* I hope for the honor of the Conference, that we shall hear no more suggestions of this kind. Such suggestions, through the press and otherwise, have been the means of getting up the mobs which have so recently disgraced various parts of our country.

You have also been told, that one of our bishops, was, last year, almost driven from the chair, that the Conference might be turned into an abolition meeting. This, sir, is a very great mistake. The facts in the case are these. The N. H. Conference at its last session appointed a committee on slavery—that committee reported—a motion was made to adopt the report—and the Bishop refused to put the motion, stating as his reason, that he did not think the adoption of the report would tend to the peace of the church. A motion was then made to go into a committee of the whole—the Bishop after a moments reflection said, that it would be in order for the Conference to do so. The Conference then went into a committee of the whole, and adopted the report by a vote of 59 to 8—the Bishop leaving the chair, and calling another brother to take it. So much for driving the Bishop from the chair, and turning the Conference into an abolition meeting!

Brother SCOTT made a few additional remarks and took his seat, having occupied about two hours in his speech. The moment he finished, as you well know, some half a dozen rose to reply—the floor was however obtained first by Rev. T. Crowder, of Virginia. And now dear brethren, I wish to call your attention to an examination of some of the principal arguments which were adduced by brother Crowder, and other speakers on the same side. These arguments you well recollect were not replied to on the floor of the General Conference. The abolitionists occupied less than *one third* of the time which was consumed in the discussion—and the small portion of time which they did occupy seemed to give pain to

a majority of the Conference. They did not therefore, think it best to insist on replying to the speaker who followed brother Scott. I am however unwilling that their arguments, (if arguments they may be called) should pass unnoticed, and therefore embrace this method of addressing you.

Brother CROWDER commenced his speech with an attempt to defend slavery from the Bible. When will Christian ministers cease to press into the service of slavery and sin, the Holy Scriptures? Before slave-holders and their apologists were so hard pressed by the abolitionists, it was generally admitted in all parts of the country, that slavery was wrong—but then it was thought there was no remedy. But since the great act of justice of the memorable first of August, 1834, was consummated—and it has been fully demonstrated, that it is safe to do right—slavery has at last taken refuge in the Bible! Yes; in the nineteenth century, Christian ministers in the midst of a Christian land, gravely attempt to make it appear that there is *no moral wrong* in holding and treating the human species as property—in exchanging them for sheep and cattle—in withholding from them the Bible, and the knowledge of letters—in breaking up and separating families—and in all the other evils which the right of property implies. But from this retreat slavery will soon be cut off—its Bible advocates cannot long maintain their ground.—There is too much light and religious feeling in the community to admit the possibility that the contest between slavery and the inspired writers can long remain undecided. The triumph of truth is certain—and it is near.

Brother CROWDER is a stranger to me, and there is in his appearance something so meek and Christian-like, that I could scarcely believe my own eyes when I saw him stand up and attempt to justify slavery from the Bible! But when I reflect, that ministers of the gospel used to drink *rum*, and think it right to do so, I cannot consent to unchristianize all slave-holders, though I firmly believe their conduct irreconcilable with the principles of the gospel.—Christian ministers once justified the foreign slave-trade, and the Constitution of the United States directly licensed that traffic in human flesh for the space of twenty years! All civilized nations now pronounce that trade no better than piracy. And the time is not distant, when the *internal slave-trade* will be viewed in the same light—and when slavery will not find an apologist professing the Christian name. To brother Crowder, I am willing to award a spirit of candor and fairness. I wish I could say as much of all the speakers on the same side.

For an answer to brother Crowder's Bible arguments I would refer you to brother Scott's extract from the Synod of Kentucky, which I consider a full answer to him on that

point. As however this view of the subject is at the present time, of great importance, I will add a few other considerations. We admit that

“The Hebrews held some in servitude for a limited period, by the special *permission* and direction of God; and this permission was given on the very same ground, that a Hebrew was permitted to kill a man who had murdered his friend. (Num. xxxv. 19;) and he might do this without the process of a trial. And upon the same ground, the Jews were permitted to commence and carry on exterminating wars against their idolatrous nations around them. Hence, we suppose, that it is as really wrong for any man in this age of the world, to take away the liberty of his innocent neighbor, or to withhold it from him in any way, without an express permission from God, as it would be for one to kill the murderer of his friend now, without the forms of law.

Two thirds of all the servants in Israel were free at the end of six years; and the fiftieth year all were set free. There was no such thing as hereditary servitude among the Jews.

But American slavery is perpetual, to the very last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and by law it is entailed upon all of his descendants to the latest posterity.

Jewish servitude was voluntary, except in those cases where it was the penalty annexed to crime.

But American slavery is involuntary. No one who is now a slave in this land, was ever consulted, before his liberty was taken away, whether he would be a slave or not; and if he had been, he could not have given his master a just and proper title to his body as his property.

Under the Mosaic economy, servants might contend with their masters about their rights; and to despise the cause of such was considered a heinous crime. (See Job xxxi 13.)

But here, in this land of christians, slaves can make no contracts of any kind, they can have no legal right to any property; all they have and are belongs to their masters.

The laws of Moses granted freedom to a servant who had been cruelly treated. (See Ex. xxii. 26, 27.)

But our Christian laws allowed the master to punish his slave, as much as he desires, and afford the slave no redress: nay, if the slave makes any resistance, the laws expressly justify the master in *putting him to death*. In Kentucky, “any negro, mulatto, or Indian, bond or free,” who “shall at any time” even *lift his hand* in opposition to *ANY white person*, shall receive *THIRTY LASHES* on his or her *bare back*, WELL LAID ON, by order of the Justice.”

Servants were carefully protected among the Jews, in their domestic relations; so that husbands and wives, parents and

their children must not be separated. And in case the mother did not get her freedom as soon as her husband, the children remained with her; and her master was bound to receive him to service again, in case he choose to live with his wife and children.

But here, slaves are entirely unprotected in their social and domestic relations; husbands and wives, parents and their children may be, and they are separated and parted forever, at the irresponsible will of the master.

The laws of Moses secured to servants the necessary means of instruction and consolation.

But no such laws exist in this land; here the operations of the laws, tends directly to deprive the slaves of all "mental" and religious "instruction" for their whole power is exerted to keep their slaves in the lowest kind of ignorance.

The laws of Moses require every one to pity and love the stranger who might chance to come among the Jews, and under severe penalties they were forbidden to vex or oppress them in any way.

Here the laws view every colored stranger as an enemy, and they consider him a slave until he proves his freedom.

If a servant escaped from his master and fled to the land of Israel, the law of Moses commanded every one to protect him; and forbade any one to deliver such to his master again.

But here, if a slave escape from his master, and flee to any part of the United States, the law forbids any one to protect him, and commands that he be delivered up to his master.

The Mosaic law forbade man-stealing as the highest kind of theft, and condemned the perpetrator to suffer death as the penalty.

But here thousands of legally free people of color have been stolen, and sold into hopeless and involuntary servitude, as many are now every year, in this nation; and there is no law by which they can redress their wrongs."

Before American slavery can be justified from the fact that the Jews held servants, it must be proved, 1. That we have the same Divine authority that they had—the same express permission. And 2. It must be shown, that our slavery is like their servitude—neither of which can be done. There has been slaves in this country about two centuries—and when have they ever had a year of Jubilee or general release? Four times fifty years have rolled away and found them still in bonds.

We have heard it argued from high authority, since we have been in this city, not indeed on the floor of the general Conference, but elsewhere, that though slavery is contrary to the original rights of man, yet is not forbidden in the moral law. It was admitted to be contrary to the principles of the

Gospel—and it was asserted that when those principles should be fully carried out, slavery would be done away. It was said that the moral law was designed not to restore the fallen, but to govern the innocent. Let this be admitted. Does it hence follow that innocent and holy beings are at liberty to enslave each other, that there is nothing in the moral principles by which they are governed to prohibit them from robbing each other of their original rights? Let us try to ascertain in the first place, what is *expressly* forbidden in the moral law. Secondly, is there nothing contrary to the *principles* of the moral law, which nevertheless, is not expressly forbidden. Thirdly, if slavery be contrary to the principles of *Gospel*, wherein do those principles *differ* from the principles of the *moral law*? But, fourthly, the principles of the moral law are not only still binding upon us, but we are emphatically under the Gospel. If, therefore, slavery be contrary either to the principles of the law or the Gospel, *it is sin!* And if it be not contrary to the principles of either, how is the dissemination of the Gospel, and the carrying out of its principles to do it away? Suppose it should be said, that drunkenness is not expressly forbidden in the moral law—and yet that it is contrary to the spirit of the Gospel—and when the principles of the Gospel are fully carried out, drunkenness will be done away—go on preaching the Gospel, and let drunkenness *alone*. By preaching against intemperance *particularly*, you interfere with the rights of property. Many of our citizens have invested large amounts in manufacturing and vending distilled liquors. And besides it is a very “delicate and exciting” subject. Lecturing upon the subject will only have a tendency to *irritate* feelings, and make the matter worse. The principles of the Gospel when fully carried out, will gradually undermine and destroy the evil. We ought not to have any temperance or peace societies, or any lectures on those subjects, [because drunkenness and war, are not expressly forbidden in the moral law, and the principles of the Gospel, when fully carried out, will do them away. The same kind of reasoning may be applied to many other evils, but this is a mere play upon words, it is making nice distinctions where none exist.

Brother CROWDER, told us that there was a difference between this country and England. True; but what of that? Slavery is slavery wherever it exists. Human rights are the same every where. Emancipation means the same thing in all parts of the world. The means through which slavery was abolished there, are the very same we are now pursuing here. The British government had the power to abolish slavery in the West India Islands—and our government has the power to abolish it in the District of Columbia and the terri-

tories. The British Parliament did not abolish slavery till the people pretty generally through the kingdom called for it, and the people did not call for it, till the subject had been thoroughly discussed, and anti-slavery societies had been formed in all parts of the empire. And had it not been for incendiaries and fanatics, the English people had still been asleep. Slavery will be abolished in all those parts of our country where the general government has jurisdiction, as soon as public sentiment becomes sufficiently *enlightened* and *united*. And when the example is set by the nation, the states will not long hold out. But be this as it may, slavery in the District of Columbia and the territories is of sufficient importance to justify all the exertions which the abolitionists have made, and much more—and we should all be of the same opinion, if our wives and our children were among the slaves. I observed that brother Crowder and the toher speakers on that side, found it very easy and convenient to pass over the question of slavery, so far as it exists under the jurisdiction of the General Government.

Another objection which brother C. made against abolitionism was, that it was opposed to colonizationism. Abolitionists have no objections to any colored persons going to Africa who choose to go—and they would be glad to have the colony at Liberia prosper. And yet they are opposed to colonizationism, for the following reasons among others. 1. Colonization goes on the supposition that the colored man has *no right* to this country. 2. It asserts that they cannot be elevated here. 3. It *slanders* the free people of color, and fosters an unholy prejudice against them. 4. It *opposes emancipation*, unless it be connected with *expatriation*. 5. In the south it commends itself to the *interest* of the slave-holder, and in the north it professes to be a *gradual* remedy for slavery—and yet it disclaims all connection with slavery. 6. It is an anti-abolition institution—it persecutes and condemns the abolitionists. 7. It does expressly justify slavery. 8. Though it professes to colonize the free people of color *with their own consent*, yet it opens a wide door for coercion—and many who have been transported, have been *actually coerced away*. All these, and many other points, equally objectionable, *shall be proved* on the General Conference floor, if desired, by extracts from the African Repository, and from the public addresses of the agents and officers of the society. Is it strange then, that abolitionists should have their objections to this society?

The speaker then stated, that the New England states were once engaged in the slave trade, and that many in the New England states made themselves rich by this traffic. Suppose we admit all this, yet, what does that prove about the right or



wrong of slavery—or the justice or injustice of immediate emancipation? Can the south be justified in *continuing* to do wrong, because the north were once wicked?

Brother CROWDER next affirmed that abolitionism was a violation of the compact. Here we are at issue. The same statement has been often made, but never proved. The terms of the compact contained no provision that the subject of slavery should not be discussed in any part of the Union, or that Congress should never abolish slavery where the General Government has jurisdiction. Suppose the laws of Massachusetts sanctioned gambling in all its forms, and suppose also that the laws of the District of Columbia sanctioned it; we never could have dreamed that South Carolina had violated the terms of the compact, by lecturing against gambling, forming anti-gambling societies, and petitioning Congress to abolish gambling in the District of Columbia! And yet according to the southern doctrine, this would be an interference with our civil institutions.

Brother C. reminded us that according to the apostles doctrine, we ought to be subject to “the powers that be”—but he forgot to mention the example of apostles when “the powers that be” contravened the powers that were from above. In such a case they did not hesitate. “Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you, more than unto God, judge ye.”

Brother C. stated that he had two slaves—was not cruel to them—they were well fed and clothed, they love us, and they wept when I left home to come to this Conference. I believe this is all true. I do not think brother C. would hurt any body. There are undoubtedly many others who treat their slaves with considerable kindness. We have never pretended that all the slaves were cruelly treated, though there is not probably one such case as brother C's., in a thousand. With a few exceptions, the slaves are cruelly treated. Brother C. admitted that there were some instances of cruel treatment. He was too honest to cover up that fact. But slavery in its mildest form is *slavery*. And what an incalculable amount of injury does the example of such a good man as brother C. do to the cause of *human rights*. “If such a good man as brother Crowder, holds slaves, it cannot be wrong”—and thus his example will be imitated as a *slave-holder*, but not as a benevolent man. It is of little consequence to us, whether the man who robs us of our money, be polite and complaisant or otherwise. Robbery is robbery, and slavery is slavery.

Rev. W. Wynans stated that slavery was a divine institution—and must of course be right. God, said he, has instituted perpetual, hereditary slavery—and therefore it is right

under all circumstance. If circumstances ever did exist sufficient to justify slavery aside from revelation, then American slavery might be justified. But, 1. I deny that God *ever* did institute perpetual hereditary slavery. 2. I deny that there is *any* Scripture authority for *American* slavery. Or, indeed, for any other slavery at the present time. 3. I deny that there are any circumstances in our country which can justify slavery.

And if Mr. Wesley is right, then every slave-holder is a *man-stealer*. He says it is "impossible that any child of man should ever be *born a slave*." Now there are 60,000 children born of female slaves yearly—and if they are in the sight of God, as Mr. Wesley has said, *born free*—then there are so many children stolen yearly in our country, and reduced to slavery.

Brother WYNANS next stated, that the abolitionists were shutting the door of the Gospel against the slaves—that their movements made the planters very jealous, that in one or two instances missionaries had been turned away—and finally, he thought the movements of the abolitionists were injuring the slave. Now if it were true, that the discussion of this great doctrine of human rights stirs up in some few instances the bad passions of men to increase oppression, yet this fact alone is not sufficient proof that the cause should be abandoned. This reasoning would have defeated the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage—and our fathers from the British yoke. The present generation of slaves are not alone concerned, and especially the *few* who may be more severely treated, in consequence of the movements of the present day. It is a question connected with the dearest interests of millions now on the stage, and of generations to come. I am fully of the opinion, that there are more instances where the slaves are treated better in consequence of the abolition movements, than there are where they are treated worse. A slave holder was asked not long since in the city of New York, whether the abolition movements were operating unfavorably upon the treatment of the slaves? He said "no! We are obliged to treat them better; for now every eye and ear is open—we are more narrowly watched than we used to be." But I will not insist that they are better treated, neither do I believe, that in general, they were worse treated. But admitting that all the objections which have been urged to abolition are true, still the great question, to be decided, is, whether slavery be sin or not. If it be sin, the path of duty before every Christian is plain. The promulgation of the doctrines of the reformation were connected with the shedding of blood; but had Luther been influenced by the modern doctrine of expediency, where should we have

been? Had the *signers* and *defenders* of the declaration of Independence been under the influence of this principle of *expediency*, where would our liberties have now been.

I fear we have nearly lost sight of slavery, except as it exists in the Methodist Episcopal Church! And it appears to me, that we are almost ready to sacrifice the rights and liberties of millions of human beings, to a few local circumstances connected with some of our own missions to the slaves! Do we not limit our views of this great evil to our own church? Let us lift up our eyes and look on the fields which were once dyed with the blood of liberty, but now covered with tyranny and oppression!

Brother WYNANS proceeded:—

Abolitionism is an incendiary flame. It is insurrectionary—and in the carrying out of these measures we in the south can see through murdered wives and children, and burning houses, &c. If this were not a serious matter, it would be not a little amusing to reflect, that at this late period, ministers of the gospel will indulge in such flights of imagination, on such subjects!

If there never had been any slaves emancipated, or if such effects had ever followed emancipation, these representations would not appear so utterly groundless. But slaves have been emancipated by *hundreds of thousands*, at different times, and in different places. And where have murdered wives and children, and burning houses ever followed? It is now too late in the day to produce much effect by such representations. There are too many facts in existence upon this subject. The experiment has been often tried—and it has never failed—no not in a single instance. Reason and philosophy agree with facts. Oppression, not emancipation, will produce insurrections. The slave longs for freedom—and will he kill his master for bestowing upon him that which he ardently desires? *Never!* I know some have supposed that the emancipation in St. Domingo was followed by murdered families and burning houses! but this is a very great mistake. There were in the French part of the Island of St. Domingo 600,000 slaves suddenly emancipated in the year 1793. It was a time of civil war—the arrival of a British armament was daily expected. The emancipation of the slaves was the only alternative—the only possible way of saving the island—and this a very doubtful experiment at best. But it worked well. The slaves joined with the whites, in opposing the common enemy. No white inhabitant of the Island was injured, unless he had first put himself in the attitude of a political enemy, by siding with the British. Not a wife, nor a child was murdered, nor a building burned. The emancipated slaves remained quiet and were industrious till Bona-

parte in 1802 through one of his generals, attempted to re-establish slavery in the Island. It was then, that those who had been free and happy for nine years, resisted unto blood. Thus it will be seen that it was *slavery*, and not emancipation which gave rise to the bloody scenes of St. Domingo.

But let it be remembered, 1. That there were about 42,000 whites—44,000 free colored people—and 600,000 slaves in the Island.—2. Slavery was abolished under the most unfavorable outward circumstances; a time of civil war. What an excellent opportunity this, for the slaves to have butchered their masters—especially as they were so much more numerous than the whites.—3. Those slaves were emancipated suddenly, without a moment's warning, or *any kind of preparation*. And yet the experiment was *perfectly safe*.

Br. Wyman's cry of murdered wives and children, and burning houses, is not *new*. The West India planters, and their apologists, throughout the kingdom of Great Britain, when the subject of abolition was first agitated in the British Parliament, raised this same bloody cry, *long and loud*; and they continued it from year to year. "Our throats will be cut, and our buildings will be burned." So they said, and so many believed. But what has been the result. Let the Antigua newspaper, together with an eye and ear witness answer the question. The above named paper of the 7th of August, 1834, speaks thus:—

"The great doubt is solved—the alarming prognostications of the advocates of slavery falsified—the highest hopes of the negroe's friends fulfilled, and their pledge honorably redeemed. A whole people, comprising 30,000 souls, have passed from slavery into freedom, not only without the slightest irregularity, but with the solemn and decorous tranquility of the Sabbath. A week has nearly elapsed, and although all eyes and ears are open, and reports spread rapidly, we have not heard of a single act of insolence, insubordination or violence committed by any one of them, under false and licentious notions of freedom."

From the same paper, of the 15th August: "It is with the highest satisfaction we announce, that we know of, and believe that there *is no gang of laborers in the island, which has not returned to its accustomed employment.*"

So that two weeks after the slaves were "let loose," instead of begging and stealing, they were all quietly at work.

We quote from the same paper of the 21st August:

"The third week of freedom will close with this day, and again we are bound to express our gratitude and praise to the Divine goodness, for the perfect peace and tranquility which the island enjoys. Not the least symptom of insubordination has manifested itself any where; and the daily accounts from

all quarters testify to the excellent disposition and conduct of the new freemen."

In a letter from Antigua, dated 30th August, and published in a Norfolk paper, we find the following:

"The operations of Commerce have experienced no interruption; public confidence remains unshaken. Two sugar plantations have recently leased for as much as they were worth, with the negroes included, prior to emancipation."

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From the Few-York Evangelist.

## FACTS! FACTS!! FACTS!!!

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

Authentic and recent news from Barbadoes.

A few days since, we had the pleasure of a call from an old and respected acquaintance, formerly a respectable attorney in Vermont, now a merchant in the island of Barbadoes, where he has resided most of the time since September, 1834. His character as a Christian and a man of observation, renders his remarks and statements, worthy of entire confidence. We took some notes of his conversation, during the hour he had to spare to us, between the time of his arrival here, and his departure to visit his family, after so long a separation; and from these notes we have prepared the following sketch, every particular of which corresponds, we believe, with the statements he made.

The Island of Barbadoes is one of the most populous portions of the earth. The inhabitants are reckoned to be at least 120,000 on an Island not more than twenty-one miles long, and twelve broad at the extremity. Of these, it is estimated that 80,000 were slaves, before the abolition act took effect, August 1, 1834; and 20,000, free people of color. The colonial legislature of Barbadoes did not fully emancipate their slaves, as was done in Bermuda and Antigua, but adopted the apprenticeship system with all its absurdities and injustice to the emancipated slaves. This system of apprenticeship had been in operation nearly a year and a half, when our informant left the Island. Many of the masters are now voluntarily emancipating their apprentices, and such is the progress of this, that it is probable nearly all will be made wholly free before the expiration of the legal apprenticeship. Intelligent men now generally admit that it would have been better for the Island if the emancipation had been immediate and unconditional at first.

As to the effects of emancipation upon the public safety,

they now laugh at the idea of fear. They are talking of reducing their military force. Ask them if they are not afraid the blacks will rise and cut their master's throats, they reply, "What should they do that for, when they have got all they wanted?" The free blacks are organized into militia

Many who opposed the abolition of slavery, step by step to the last, are now in favour of it. They say it has been a good thing for the Island. All their fears in regard to evil consequences have been disappointed.

The capitol, Bridgetown, is very populous, the inhabitants from 10 to 12,000, but our informant had never known sufficient disturbance to occasion a person to walk forty rods to see it. There is vice enough, to be sure, but no combination of the vicious to disturb the public peace. He could lie down to sleep there, out of doors, as quietly as in any place in New England.

There is no general complaint of the want of labor. The crops are got in as usual. The blacks will work for pay on their own day, and extra hours, as readily and as much, as ignorant and depraved white people would, when paid for it. They act just as other people would do in similar circumstances. It is a common remark, that a negro goes on an errand quicker and loiters less, now he is paid, than when he was a slave.

As to the fear that abolishing slavery will lead to amalgamation, our friend avers that it operates precisely the other way, to separate the two races. Amalgamation has had its full run there, under the reign of slavery. You may go into a church now, and see 250 persons at a time, of whom you cannot determine confidently whether they are white or colored. It has been a common thing there for white men to keep colored women. Even married men did it. Every body says this is becoming now far less common, and the colored women who used to be kept as concubines of white men, are now getting colored husbands. It takes the minister in the cathedral at Bridgetown, a quarter of an hour to publish the bans of marriage.

The effect of abolition on the financial condition of the country is quite remarkable. Our informant says that real estate is rising, for the last six months has risen rapidly, in many instances has risen one third in a year. If persons had bought real estate two years ago, great fortunes might have been made. The consumption of dry goods has also wonderfully increased, and dealers in dry goods are making fortunes. The negroes now dress like other people. Some years ago, if a colored woman had been seen in the streets wearing a straw bonnet, it would have been almost a signal for a mob, now they dress as well as any people of their standing. The im-

ports generally are doubled. A very great increase has taken place in the importation of American productions. The blacks begin to live like human beings. The importations were never so great as the last year.

The change of feeling on the subject of abolition is entire. Our friend was surprised on his first arrival to hear the subject so freely spoken of, immediately after the act took effect. He supposed he should have to talk carefully and in whispers, as at the south. The papers are beginning to publish in favour of the act. While it was talked of, the people and the papers were violent and furious against it. After the 1st of August, seeing no disturbance, they began to congratulate each other. Now they are coming round entirely, and already begin to reproach America for continuing the system of slavery. This change does not seem to have arisen from any new views of slavery as a sin; but from what they see of the effects of abolition, they are satisfied it is a great benefit. And they say it will come to the same result in America, whenever abolition takes place. Said our friend, "I felt ashamed of my country, to hear it reproached for the absurdity, and inconsistency, and sin of slavery, and I could make no reply. Here among our own people, one does not feel it so much; but when we get abroad, we feel it keenly."

It is not the case that the negroes become impudent toward the whites, in consequence of emancipation. On the contrary, it is universally said that they are more civil than they used to be.

In short, one only needs to see the West Indies to be convinced of the safety and utility of abolishing slavery. The experiment of emancipation has already gone on long enough to prove that negroes are like other people; if you give them their rights they are grateful, and have sense enough to see that it is now for their interest to support the laws, and that if they make disturbance they punish only themselves.

Many other instances of emancipation might be brought forward—and much more might be said of the good effects in those cases which are here adduced. But it is unnecessary. The arguments in favor of immediate emancipation are as bright as noon day. To take the opposite side of this important question, at *this time*, shows either a lack of knowledge, or a *fixed love of slavery!* The perfect safety of immediate emancipation under almost any circumstances, is now placed beyond all reasonable doubt. There is nothing wanting but a *disposition*.

Brother WYNANS told us that "no abolitionist in the land would be more glad to see the slaves free than himself—and yet he tells us slavery is a Divine institution—that it is right under all circumstances. And he furthermore, tells us,

that Christians, Ministers, and even Bishops ought to be slave-holders—and slave-holders ought to labor under no disadvantages—they ought to be eligible to all the offices within the gift of the church.”

Now, how brother Wynans can believe that slavery is of Divine origin—that it is *right* that Bishops ought to be slave-holders—and yet be as glad to have slavery done away as any abolitionist in the land, I cannot conceive! It appears to me to imply an inconsistency, to say the least. I perceived that brother Wynans had his difficulties in defending slavery—and in reconciling it with moral principles. I am not surprised that his speech makes rather *bad joints!* There are few who could have done better, from the same premises. In this *good brother*, the cause of slavery has, both *ingenuity* and *zeal*. I admired the bold and uncompromising attitude which the brother assumed, but was sorry he had not had a better cause.

If brother Wynans would be as glad to have his slaves free as any abolitionist, he will set them at liberty immediately after reaching home. “O! but the laws forbid it.” Well, suppose the laws should forbid his praying?

“Ministers, Christians, and Bishops should be slave-holders!” Why? Because they will be kind to the slaves, they will set a good example. So then we ought, according to this doctrine, to have christian rum-sellers to keep the traffic from being *abused*—and to set a *good example* to other rum-sellers. And we ought also to have Christian robbers and thieves, that they may set a good example so the *craft*—and so produce a *good influence* on those who are immoral! I beg to take different ground. Neither Bishops, Ministers or Christians, should be slave-holders. Let all these good men come out from these abominations. It is the example of good men more than any thing else which keeps the system alive. While such good men (I must believe them to be such) as Dr. Capers, W. Wynans, T. Crowder and others, hold slaves, and treat them *well*, bad men will hold them, and treat them *cruelly*. These good slave-holders are the shield and covering of the bad ones. They meet you at every turn and corner. You cannot speak of slavery, or the evils of slavery, but these *good men* stand right up before you. I will not wish them in heaven, as brother Smith did brother Scott the other day—but I believe it would be better for the cause of bleeding humanity if this wretched system could not plead the *example* of any *Christian* or *Christian Minister!* A Christian rum-seller does more harm to the cause of temperance than a dozen infidels! You have all heard of deacon Giles of Salem, Mass., the *rum maker*. Every unprincipled rum-seller and manufacturer in the land, will plead in justification of his conduct the example of



deacon Giles. And the influence of Christians, and Christian Ministers on the subject of slavery, is in my humble opinion equally pernicious.

The speaker told us, that he was formerly from a free state—that he had become a slave-holder, and felt justified in so doing—that Bishop Asbury was a warm abolitionist when he first came to this country, but that he cooled off, and changed his views somewhat before he died. All this only strengthens my conviction, that slavery is “deceitful above all things, and desparately wicked”—“that if it were possible it would deceive even the very elect.” But this no more proves that slavery is right, than the fact that a great many men who were *once temperate*, but have become drunkards, proves that *drunkenness is right!*

Brother W. affirmed, that the south would not receive any help either from England or the northern states, in getting rid of slavery, i. e. in plain English, they love slavery so well, that they are determined to hold on upon it in spite of all opposition—and yet they would rejoice if the negroes were free! Put *this* and *that* together.

Dr. Capers of South Carolina, next addressed the Conference, in a very mild, winning manner. This brother, whether right or wrong, carries with him a conviction of cincerity and purity of motive, which it is very difficult to resist. One can hardly help loving him, *though he is a slave-holder*. He stated some facts respecting the introduction of the gospel into different neighborhoods in the vicinity of Charleston, and also the opposition which some of our first Ministers met with from some slave-holders, in trying to preach the Gospel to the slaves, which only increased my convictions of the evils of slavery, and the importance of continuing the anti-slavery discussion. The remarks which Dr. Capers, very clearly proved that Methodist preachers in the south as well as in the north, have been ready and willing to labor and suffer for Christ's sake. But they had no more connection with the right or wrong of slavery, or abolitionism, than they had with the inhabitants of the moon—and yet the time and manner in which these remarks were made, had a tendency to prejudice the Conference against abolitionism. The inference which many drew from what the Doctor said, was, that if abolitionism continued to spread, these spiritual gardens must be laid waste—whereas nothing is more *false!* The triumph of abolitionism will multiply these openings to the missionary *a thousand fold!*

And now dear brethren, I come to the amendment which brother Scott proposed to the resolution disapproving of abolitionism. This amendment was in the very language of our discipline. The resolution is in substance, as follows: ‘That

we disapprove in the most unqualified terms of modern abolitionism." The amendment was this: "Although we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery," we disapprove, &c.—As soon as the amendment was proposed, Rev. D. Ostrander rose up and said, that he presumed every brother on the floor was ready to vote for it. So we thought, and so any one would naturally have supposed. But the sequel told a very different story. Dr. Bangs, P. P. Sanford, N. Levings, and others from the north, opposed the amendment. The south opposed it of course. Just before the question on the amendment was taken, brother Scott rose and remarked as follows: Mr. President, I have listened to what has been said upon this amendment with surprise and astonishment. I can hardly believe my own eyes and ears. I am alarmed for our church!—Yes sir, more so at this moment than at any former period of my life. Can it be possible (!) that we dare not speak out our former sentiments on the subject of slavery? Shall we now take in our colors after having exposed them to the gaze of the world for 50 years? When before did we ever hesitate to publish to the world in *any* and *every* form, that we were "convinced of the great evil of slavery?" We are told that if this amendment prevails, the south will be alarmed—but sir, if it does not prevail the north will be alarmed! We have always supposed that we belonged to a church that was opposed to slavery—have we been deceived? Does the south suppose us friendly to slavery? If not, what harm can arise from speaking out in the language of our discipline—especially as in the same sentence, and with the same breath, we condemn abolitionism? There is no danger that the south will suppose we are abolitionists, if the amendment prevails, because a condemnation of abolitionism will be connected with the amendment. But if we leave out this amendment, both the north and the south may reasonably conclude, that we have gone over to the cause of slavery. I know we shall have the expression in our discipline, but it might as well be in an old almanac. Our church rules on slavery are *nullified*, completely so. They might as well be out of the discipline as in it. And if we cannot speak out in its language *here*, how can we expect that it will be enforced in the south?

We have descended from the high and holy ground where our father's used to stand. We have accommodated and compromised away the greatest part of our former church regulations on slavery—and if we cannot say we are as much as ever opposed to the great evil of slavery *now*, where shall we be by the next General Conference?—*Where!*

The amendment failed by a vote of 120 to 15! Tell it not in the *North!* Tell it not in *England!* Our southern

brethren told us it would not do to let the south know that we were as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery—and we have believed them, and have acted accordingly, to the *no small disgrace of our church!* This is a memorable day in our Israel—a day never to be forgotten—and such another, our church never before saw—and I hope never may again! We expected you would condemn abolitionism, but we did not suppose you would succumb to slavery.—When our brethren in the south state *facts*, we cannot but believe them, but when they state what they think will be the results of certain measures in *future*, we have a right to consult our own judgments, and receive their predictions with *caution*. But I have discovered in the General Conference a disposition to put implicit confidence in all the predictions of our southern brethren. This I think is wrong—and what I fear we shall have cause deeply to regret. I suppose the West India planter could have made out as strong a case, three or four years ago, against the British abolitionists, as our brethren have against us. But their predictions have all proved groundless; and so it will be here—we fear my dear brethren where no fear is. Interest is the great lever which moves the whole south against the abolitionists. It is almost impossible for good men to divest themselves of its influence. But we ought to take into consideration *great principles*, and the interests of a *great people*, rather than a few local circumstances connected with slavery in our church. Let us contrast for a moment the doings of this General Conference on the subject of slavery, with the doings of the Synod of Kentucky. That Synod belonging a slave state has spoken out against slavery in *tones of thunder*,—but here a Methodist General Conference, composed of members mostly from free states, dare not so much as to say, *we are still convinced of the great evil!* That Synod described slavery in all its horrors—and then advanced the most overwhelming arguments against it, both from reason and scripture—and that too, in the midst of slavery; but we dare not so much as whisper the *fact*, that slavery is an “evil.” Why did not this Synod fear that their course would produce excitement in the south, and indeed in their own state? Because their high and noble minds could not be confined to a few local circumstances, while millions were groaning under oppression in all its horrid forms. While that Synod stands erect in the midst of slavery and refuses to worship the golden image which slavery has set up—here a Methodist General Conference is seen bowing and crouching to the claims of tyranny and oppression!! O, it is a delicate and exciting subject—our southern brethren tell us we must not touch it, it will not do, and we believe them and submit! They have always told us the

same story, and we have always yielded to them—and what do you think the end will be? Are we always to be turned off in this way? Look my brethren at the blooming and flourishing West India Islands! How many thousand times over did the planters there say, “you must not touch it—it will not do!” But look at the good effects of obeying God! Shall we shut our eyes and refuse to behold the light, because our deeds are evil! God forbid! You may refuse to hear my voice, but still *I will speak!* I fear that the curse of God is already upon our church. Is there not iniquity among us?

The past year has been to us, as a people, one of unparalleled affliction and loss. There has been it appears, a decrease of some two thousand members in our church communion. This is a very serious matter—and we ought, as far as possible, carefully seek out the cause. We have, for several years preceding the last, had large additions, yearly to our societies. And it is worthy of remark, that while the church, in her collective capacity, has sustained a loss, yet in some sections of the work there have been large additions—and among these sections, the N. E. and N. H. Conferences, where the “unhallowed flame” of abolitionism has raged the most, are by no means the least. Both these Conferences during the last year, were favored with blessed revivals of religion, and in some of those places where the unhallowed flame was the hottest, there have been some of the most refreshing and extensive revivals. The nett gain in the N. E. Conference, was, I think, last year, about 1300—and several hundreds were added in the N. H. Conference. And when we take into the account the increase in these Conferences, it makes the decrease in other parts of the country still more alarming! I do not say that God has blessed us because we have espoused the cause of the slave, or that slave-holders and apologists for slavery, are under the frowns of God on that account. I state facts without drawing any inferences.

I am willing, however, to give it as my opinion, that the Christian Advocate and Journal has exerted a most unhappy influence on the cause of human rights and universal emancipation, during the last year. It has refused to publish for one Annual Conference, and for Methodist Preachers, when communications have been signed by some forty of our brethren, in two instances at least, requesting the privilege of explaining and defending themselves, when they have been misrepresented and abused. I solemnly believe that this paper has strengthened *the oppressor*, and *grievously afflicted the oppressed*, in the course it has taken against the anti-slavery movements in the North. Had the paper been *entirely neutral*, we would have been satisfied, but we feel that we have ourselves suffered a sort of oppression, not to say slavery, during the last year.

The sudden death of our beloved Bishop Emory,—and the dreadful conflagration which entirely destroyed our large Book Establishment, are among the solemn events of the past year! And it does appear to me, that it becomes us to pause and consider! I do not say that these awful providences are designed to call our attention to the horrid oppressions with which, as a church, we are connected; but this I will say, there is a *cause somewhere*, for this heavy chastisement from the hand of God! And I do most sincerely pray, that with respect to the great question now pending, we may not be “found to fight against God.” Can we not say or do something before we leave this place, that will show to the world that we are still opposed to slavery. I believe we can.

The view which brother Scott has given the Conference of abolitionism, the substance of which is contained in the preceding pages, is correct. It may not agree in every respect with the description which you have had of abolitionism heretofore, but it is as strong and incendiary as can be found in the Garrisonian school, because it is the *very same*. I have read all the principal abolition authors—and therefore *know* what abolitionism is. I make these remarks because it has been said that Br. Scott gave to Conference what he considered abolitionism, but that it is not in all respects true modern abolitionism.

And now, my dear brethren, I have done. May the great Head of the church lead us into all truth, and save us in his everlasting kingdom at last.—Amen.

*Cincinnati, Ohio, May 19th, 1836.*

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*An Extract from the Address of the Methodist Wesleyan Conference in England, to the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.*

“It has already come to your knowledge as a matter of public notoriety, that by the blessing of God on the efforts and influence of our connexion and on the *combined endeavors of the religious public* of our beloved country, a great measure for the emancipation of the slaves in all the territories of Great Britain was eventually conducted to a successful issue in the Imperial Legislature; and has since been carried into practical effect in all the colonies of the empire, with various degrees of completeness, but universally with SAFETY and ADVANTAGE, and with results which mightily encourage us to go forward in our earnest attempts to enlighten and evangelize the whole population, to which favourable access is thus freely

opened. Our American brethren will doubtless allow us the fraternal liberty to express our conviction that GREAT SCRIPTURAL PRINCIPLES are *opposed* to the *continuance* of slavery in a *christian state*; that the permission of it, is one of those deviations from natural equity and evangelical purity which call for *further deviations* abet and maintain them that it is CONTRARY to the PRECEPTS of CHRISTIANITY, and *violates* and *counteracts* the *principles* and *obligations* by which the Gospel urges those precepts. We trust that *your connexion having ALREADY BEGUN to resist and condemn this baneful system*, will, in its own way, be freely and providentially led to *such practical steps* as shall produce a *consentaneous opinion, feeling and purpose* amongst *your own people*; and will then have the GLORY of the PUBLIC OPINION of your great and increasing population, to such *decided views* as will result in a UNANIMOUS REJECTION of SLAVERY and its *social mischiefs*, on the ground of its REPUGNANCY to the LAWS of CHRIST."

### THIRD PART.

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MAY 24th. AFTERNON.

Towards the close of the session, Mr. Wynans, of Mississippi, asked leave to submit the following resolution,—which, he remarked, he was sure would be interesting to all.

“*Resolved, &c.* That a pamphlet, circulated among the members of this Conference, purporting to be, “*An Address to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church; By a member of that body,*” containing reports of the discussion on modern abolitionism, *palpably false*, and calculated to make an impression to the injury of the characters of some of the members engaged in the aforesaid discussion, is an outrage on the dignity of this body, and meriting unqualified reprehension.” The resolution was signed by Mr. Wynans, above mentioned, and by Mr. Stamper, of Kentucky.

After reading the resolution, Mr. Wynans proceeded to specify instances to support the allegations embraced in it, and attempted to show the propriety of such a resolution, in a series of written remarks. He contended, that there were in the Address, no less than *THREE direct, flagrant* falsehoods, besides many others, indirect or inferential. He read from the manuscript with great calmness of manner—but his remarks, in matter and in style, were in a high degree, violent and inflammatory. He left no room for the possibility of unintentional error;—whatever in the pamphlet he deemed a departure from strictly accurate statement, was stigmatised as falsehood. Although the author of the Address professed to be ‘a member of the Conference,’ and Mr. W. believed him to be so, and as such, a *brother*, he seemed resolved to put on it the most rigorous construction for his condemnation. He appeared to exclude from the account altogether, how liable any person would be, in the exciting circumstances of the previous debate, to misunderstand the speaker, and how easy it was for error to insinuate itself into the subsequent report of a vehement, turbulent and unargumentative speech, made out from hasty notes, taken at the moment of its delivery. Nor did he, for a moment, advert to what was certainly a strong circumstance, to prove that any error into which the author might have fallen, was unintentional, the signal infamy which would overwhelm any man—and, most of all, a member of the Conference—who should prepare and openly circulate *palpable*

*falsehoods*, concerning the discussion of a great question, in which the Conference itself, and the whole community were interested, and to which they had been ear and eye witnesses but a few days before.

Having no notes of the speech of Mr. Wynans, we give the above as our recollection of the general character of most of his remarks. The want of notes is the less to be regretted here, as in the speech of Mr. Scott, which will follow, their tenor and bearings will be clearly enough apprehended.

When Mr. W. had concluded his remarks, Mr. Scott rose and stated calmly, and with full exemption from the tone of defiance, that *he* was the author of the pamphlet in question—that he was the member, against whom the charges of multiplied falsehood had been so gravely preferred. In view of the seriousness of the allegations made against him—and that he might have sufficient time to prepare for his defence against them, he moved that the resolution be laid on the table, till the next morning. He also asked, to be furnished with a copy of the resolution—as also of the remarks read by Mr. Wynans. By a vote of the Conference the former was granted to him. The latter he could not obtain, inasmuch as that body had no control over it—and Mr. W., *refused* the request—alleging, as we are informed, that *he could not trust Mr. Scott with it.*

It was at this stage of the proceedings that Dr. Bangs of New York, took the floor, and remarked, that the proceedings of the Conference had been made public through other channels, than those of the church. He then referred to a paper in this city, [the *Philanthropist*,] in which were reported the speeches of the members, on the abolition question. The General Conference, he alleged, had an unquestionable right, if they chose, to shut their doors entirely, and to exclude all spectators. *Throwing open the doors was a mere favor.* He could not conceive, then, how any gentleman could intrude himself within their walls, and set himself to taking notes of what they said. He thought it a breach of courtesy—of confidence—as much so, as if a man after being admitted into the parlor of a gentleman, should go away and retail the conversation he had heard there. Individuals had no right to behave in that manner. He considered it *THEFT*—literary theft—to report speeches made on that floor, without the consent of the Conference. Reports of speeches in Congress were not published without first submitting them to the speakers—members might by such reports, be placed in a very ridiculous attitude. Things might be said too occasionally, on the spur of the moment, which it would be inexpedient to publish.

[The editor of this paper was not present when Dr. Bangs was delivered of the foregoing combustibles. He was told that the Doctor was greatly excited—that, large as his frame



is, when calm and undisturbed, he seemed, on this occasion, inflated beyond his wonted dimensions; red, as is his visage every day—now, it assumed a deeper hue. It must have been an uncommon exhibition—for those who were just from the scene, seemed agitated, and almost terrified at what they had beheld. If they had just come from witnessing some case of uncommon outrage in the street, they could scarcely have been more moved, in giving an account of it.

A word or two concerning the Dr.'s rather raw notions of propriety. If a gentleman in Cincinnati, were to throw open his parlor, and advertise the whole city, either by publication in the newspapers, or through his particular friends, that he intended to feast, for a week, all who would come and partake of his good things; the *freeness* of his fare would not exempt it from general criticism, nor himself from public disgrace, should he attempt to purchase the reputation of lordly hospitality with rancid butter, or spoiled beef, or meagerly sweetened pies. If men will make themselves public men, and like Dr. Bangs, make themselves ridiculous from want of tact and temper, they must blame themselves, not those who speak of their conduct as it is. The Dr. and the other members of the Conference are *public men*. They meet as a *public body*, in a *public manner*. They discuss *publicly* a subject of *public interest*. In so doing, they cannot escape responsibility to the *public*, for what they do and say. It is right, too, that they be held to this responsibility. In few assemblies, have there been more frequent references to the state of public sentiment, as furnishing a reason for pursuing a particular course of conduct. To what were the pro-slavery resolutions of the General Conference to be attributed? To the influence of *rectitude*? No: but to the supposed state of *public opinion*. To what was the persecution—the furious—the deadly persecution of Scott, and Storrs, and Norris, and others, who, with them, were striving to pluck up the drowning honor of their church—to what was this owing? To the supposed state of *public opinion*. Verily, when an ecclesiastical assembly reject the reign of *RIGHT* to come under that of *public opinion*—*PUBLIC OPINION*, as an acknowledged sovereign, has a *RIGHT* to know what its willing subjects are doing.

The Doctor's knowledge of Congressional proceedings, seems rather unripe. Congress have no *reporters*? Each house admits within its bar, men who report the proceedings, for their own benefit. This does not prevent any one *out* of the bar from reporting the whole of their proceedings—and this too, without submitting a single line to a speaker, or an officer. The best advice we can give the Doctor—and indeed all public men, be they ecclesiastical or political, but especially the former, is never hereafter to *speak*, what they would

be ashamed to see *printed*. This will be sufficient punishment for every literary thief, who may in all time to come, attempt to filch from them, their sermons and their speeches.

The motion of Mr. Scott prevailed, and the Conference adjourned to their usual hour to-morrow morning.

WEDNESDAY MORNING—MAY 25.

The resolution of the last evening against Mr. Scott excited considerable interest. At the usual hour for the opening of the Conference, many of the citizens had assembled, and the galleries were well filled, expecting that the resolution against Mr. Scott would, of course, be the first business attended to, after the ceremony of opening the meeting had been performed. However, this did not turn out to be the case. Some other matter, relating, perhaps, to the mode of payment, or to the measure of the compensation of the ministers, was taken up. After this had been discussed some time, and to all appearance, was about occupying the whole forenoon, Mr. Scott moved that the business then before the House, be postponed, in order to take up the resolution against himself. The motion failed. A short time afterward Mr. Early renewed the motion made by Mr. Scott. Mr. Scott earnestly appealed to his brethren to sustain the motion, remarking that, although Mr. Ostrander, (a gentleman who had manifested a disposition to exclude all further consideration of the resolution) seemed determined that the resolution should not again be taken up at all, yet, he (Mr. S.) thought it due to his character, that it should be called up immediately. He felt that it had already been postponed too long. He was keenly sensible of the injury under which he was suffering, and every moment of unnecessary delay, only added to its aggravation. Mr. Early's motion was lost. It was now about 11 o'clock in the morning—the regular time for adjournment being half past 12. A motion was then made by a member, and carried—that, when the Conference adjourn, it adjourn to meet again at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. A large majority of the spectators, supposing from the course things had taken, that the *resolution* would not be taken up till the afternoon, retired from the House. However, not long after the galleries were thinned, and before the business under consideration was entirely disposed of, Mr. Early having renewed his motion, the resolution was called up. This was one hour, as stated by Mr. Early, before the usual period for adjournment. The resolution being read, Mr. Scott commenced by saying, that this day, one of the strangest spectacles was presented, which had ever been witnessed in the history of the church. A member of the highest assembly, recognized in the church, was now arraigned before it, charged with glaring, palpable falsehood, and this

not once, but many times over. Under such circumstances, it could not be expected that he should appear without emotion, yet he trusted he experienced a good degree of calmness. It was the first time in his life he had been charged with falsehood. Those who knew him best, had always been willing to accord to him purity of motive. In the resolution, he was accused of uttering a deliberate falsehood, of stating as true, what he knew to be false. This was a serious, a grave charge, and enough, if sustained, to disfranchise him of both his ministerial character and his membership. He had not only been accused of "barefaced, glaring and palpable" falsehood—Bro. Wynans had also declared, that the author of that pamphlet must either be a "reckless incendiary or a *non compos mentis*." If he (Mr. Scott) had set fire to the city of Cincinnati, he could hardly have been treated with more severity. What is the usual course, in cases of misrepresentation? Suppose in replying to any member, he should mis-state any of his arguments—would it be right—would it be in order, for that brother to rise in his place and charge him with falsehood? Was there then so much difference between a speech written and a speech delivered, as in the one case, where there is misrepresentation, to warrant the charge of "barefaced, glaring and palpable falsehood," and in the other, to call only for *correction*?

He wished to direct the attention of brethren to the design of the pamphlet. It would be recollected, that the arguments, adduced by him on the subject of abolitionism, had been replied to, only in part, and superficially. Br's Wynans, Crowder, and others in the opposition, moreover, had not been answered by brethren on his side of the question. This suggested to his mind the idea of writing a little address, in which he could present to the view of brethren, his argument entire, and the objections and arguments of opponents, together with replies to them, prepared subsequently by himself, but not delivered on the Conference floor; and present them all *in connexion*.

Brother Wynans had accused the author of the Address of falsehood, because of his statement on the first page, that O. Scott "was permitted to speak but once on the question." I meant by this, said Mr. Scott, what must be obvious to all, that according to one of the rules of order, adopted by this body, I was thus restricted. The rule is, that no member shall speak twice on the same question, until all others who may wish to speak have spoken. Now I need not tell this Conference, that had the subject been debated ten days longer, I should by this rule, have been effectually prohibited from speaking a second time. For we all know, that speakers were abundant, and when the question was taken, all had

not spoken who desired to be heard. It was in view of these facts, I stated, that I was permitted to speak but once; and not with any view to convey an impression, that I had been denied this privilege, by an unusual order of the Conference. Brethren know there is such a rule, and they know too how unlikely it was, that it should be set aside in my behalf. They are all aware, that, on the last day of the discussion, I was called to order by a member for speaking twice, as he supposed, to the same question, when I only rose to speak to an amendment, and occupied but three minutes;—and I was then pronounced in order, on the ground that *before*, I had spoken to the main question; *now*, I was speaking to an amendment. I might, indeed, have made my meaning less liable to be mistaken, by stating “according to the rules of the house I had not such permission;” but as this was my sole meaning, so it never entered my mind for one moment, that I should be misunderstood. Ought this omission then to subject a brother to the high and heavy charge of falsehood? Never did such an idea enter my mind, as an intention to deceive by this omission.

Mr. Scott said that he had been charged with falsehood, in making such a statement of brother Wynans’ argument, as is found on page 10 of the pamphlet.

This is the strongest, and indeed, the principal position which brother W. has taken against me. I will make a few statements, and then the Conference will be able to judge whether I have indeed, in this instance, subjected myself to the charge of palpable, barefaced, glaring, wilful falsehood! I intended to state brother Wynans’ argument as briefly as possible, and yet not so briefly as to give either a partial or false view of the sentiment of the speaker. I thought the inference that “slavery is right under all circumstances” a fair one from his premises—Nay more, I understood *him* to draw that inference in whole, or in part, from *my own premises*. His argument when stated a little more at length, was simply this:—I will attempt to show from the brother’s (Mr. Scott) own premises, that slavery is right under all circumstances. He then stated, that slavery was a divine institution—God permitted the Hebrews to hold slaves, and made laws to regulate slavery. It must therefore be right under some circumstances—and the brother from New England has told us, that if slavery is right under *some* circumstances, it is right under *all* circumstances. I have proved that it is right under some circumstances, and therefore from the brother’s own admission, it is right under *all* circumstances.” But it may be observed in the *first* place, that I never admitted, that *if* slavery was right under *some* circumstances, it was right under *all*—I never made such a statement. In the second place, I

never denied that the Scriptures allowed the Jews to hold servants. I am not such a *non compos mentis* as not to know this fact. It will be seen therefore that brother W. in making out his conclusion, that *slavery is right under all circumstances*, attributes to me, what I never said, and assumes, what I never denied—so that my premises have no sort of connexion with his inference—and for it he alone is responsible. I did not suppose, I was doing him any injustice in stating his argument as I did—I certainly had no such *design*, and therefore will submit this explanation as an accompaniment to my original statement of his argument. And whether the inference, that slavery is right under all circumstances, belongs more properly to him or to me, to his premises or to mine, I leave for the Conference and the public to judge. Suppose I were to affirm that polygamy is right under *some* circumstances—[Here Mr. Wynans interrupted the speaker, and remarked that he really believed him to be out of order. He demanded that he should be kept to the record—that he should speak directly to the charge made against him—and not be permitted to wander into irrelevant discussion. The Bishop decided Mr. Scott was in order. Mr. Wynans still persisted, and others of the south, sided with him.] The Bishop (Roberts) decided, that so long as Mr. Scott was respectful in his manner, he might take any course he saw proper to defend himself, but brethren might appeal. [An appeal was called for, and the motion being put, a majority voted to sustain the decision of the chair.] Mr. Scott said he did not intend to be disrespectful. He was endeavoring to explain to the Conference, how he had been led to mistake the argument of brother Wynans, if he indeed had mistaken it. He was proceeding to suppose a case. Suppose I were to affirm that polygamy is right under *some* circumstances, or *no* circumstances, or *all* circumstances—I soon come to the conclusion, that it is wrong under all circumstances. But no, says brother Wynans, I can prove from your own premises that polygamy is right under all circumstances. It was allowed, it is recognized, and not condemned in Jewish scriptures among the Jews, and therefore it is right, according to your premises under *all* circumstances! Who does not readily see the sophistry of such an argument!

Bro. Wynans *did* state that slavery was a Divine Institution—perpetual, hereditary slavery; and yet he affirmed of the representation of his argument in which this statement is made, that “every word of it was false.” If it be false, it is unintentionally so. I took down notes of his argument at the time, and the representation accords exactly with them. I never used the premises he represented as mine. I am not surprised, sir, that brethren should be much excited when

they see their arguments in print, and think them misrepresented.

Bro. Wynans stated that he declined the abstract question of slavery. Now his speech as reported in the *Philanthropist*, which he yesterday quoted, as confirmatory of the truth of his charge against me, makes him say, that he would meet me on the abstract question, on my own ground. I did not understand him as declining the abstract question.

I am accused of another falsehood, because on page 13 of the pamphlet, I represent our southern brethren as saying, that "it would not do to let the south know that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery. If brethren of the south did not say this—did not say that the proposed amendment, in the language of our discipline, would be believed a mere cloak for secret abolitionism—if they did not say, it would not do *now*—then did I hear very erroneously. [Mr. Scott did not hear erroneously. It was repeatedly asserted on the floor of the Conference, that it would not "do to speak out now"—that "there was a time for every thing, &c. &c." Hundreds of spectators must have heard the same things.—ED. PHIL.]

Bro. Wynans stated, that he did not remember the remarks concerning the division of the Union, attributed to me on p. 6, of the pamphlet. I did allude to this objection to the doctrines of abolition, and made also some remarks upon it. But they are carried out more fully in the pamphlet. It would have been better to have included the added remarks in brackets. But this was neglected, not however with the intention to deceive. [It is easy to explain this omission. Mr. Scotts wrote the pamphlet, superintended its printing, correcting proof &c., under circumstances very unfavorable to entire exactness and perspicuity. The pamphlet was written and ready for circulation within one week, during all of which period he had numerous Conference engagements to attend to. Under such circumstances, it is not wonderful that in reporting his own speech, he should at times forget his character as a reporter, and carry out his thoughts as if they were constituent parts of the delivered speech. It is indeed a matter of surprise that many other such mistakes did not occur.—ED. PHIL.]

I am again accused of misrepresentation, in attributing to Bro. Wynans the remarks made on p. 10, about "murdered wives and children" &c. My sole intention in these was to show, that the brother meant, such would be the effects of abolitionism, if its measures were carried out. This, I presume, he will not deny *was* his meaning.—[Mr. Wynans did not deny it either then or subsequently—ED.] Mr. Scott made some further remarks on this charge, of which our notes are insufficient to warrant any report. In our opinion he

THURSDAY, MAY 5.

This report was again presented in a somewhat improved form. It was framed, the chairman said, on the principle of compromise between the extremes of their great connection. But yet it was objected to. 1st, by some of the southern members, because it expressed a readiness to embrace every opportunity to ameliorate the temporal and spiritual condition of the colored population. 2nd, by the northern members, because it seemed to complain of a want of sympathy on the part of our British brethren, and contained no distinct declaration either of the great evil or sin of slavery, or their opposition to it as a church. Also, because, it was liable to be understood as denying to the General Government the right to legislate on slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, as well as in the States. The Committee, however, said that they did not intend thus to be understood, but the Committee refused to amend it in that particular.

H. B. Bascum proposed an amendment to obviate the difficulty of the south, respecting, embracing every opportunity to ameliorate the condition of the slaves; by adding the words "as we have ever done." Thus giving uniform character to the means that have been used heretofore, and those that shall be used hereafter.

Mr. Capers thought that the best course would have been, not to report at all on that part of the document respecting slavery. But he thought no harm could follow from the report in its present form, if it was understood to have no bearing on the peculiar relations in the south. Brethren might believe as they pleased in respect to the matter, but mind how they SPEAK and what they say, or they would be suspected of designs against existing relations, and thus kindle an unhallowed flame and forever shut the door of access to the unfortunate negro.

The amendment carried, and the report as amended was adopted by a large majority.

O. Scott moved that the address and the answer be printed and published together in their official papers. But this was objected to, and the further consideration of the subject was laid on the table without much discussion.

The above is about the true character of the discussion on slavery thus far had in this venerable body of ministers. As I write from memory, some unimportant inaccuracies, principally verbal it is believed, may appear in these minutes, but the substantial features of the debate, I am confident are retained.

From the treatment of this subject thus far, I am fully convinced that the southern members are divided in respect to the best course for the General Conference to take. Some

think that no action at all, not even the mentioning of the subject, would be best—others think that a unanimous declaration against abolitionism would be far preferable. But both parties perfectly agree in the object desirable to be attained, viz: an entire cessation of operations for emancipation now and forever. About twenty of the delegates from the north, principally from the New England Conferences are firm abolitionists, and of course desire that something should be done by this venerable body possessing the highest jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Something too, that shall declare to the world, that they are what they have always professed to be, ‘convinced of the great evil of slavery.’ This minority no doubt will do their duty in supporting steadily and firmly their asserted, but invincible principles.

The balance of the northern members seem to agree, that slavery is a sin, but stagger at the thought of assailing it. To this number may be added the delegates of most of the Conferences from the middle and western States. They will not hold slaves, and they will not attack slavery, except it exists among themselves. And it should be said in commendation of the Baltimore Conferences, if we are correctly informed, that though they are situated in a slave-holding community, yet among the whole of the preachers, not one of them holds a slave, nor do they allow their people to buy or sell, except to free them. This is quite different from the state of the Conferences farther south, and goes far to confirm our opinion, that necessity does not oblige christian Ministers to hold property in men, though they may be surrounded by a slave-holding community.

MONDAY, MAY 9.

A petition was presented by J. A. Merrill, signed by 151 traveling, and 49 local preachers, praying for the restoration of several rules on slavery, which had been expunged from the discipline of the church about 30 years. It was moved by J. A. Merrill, and seconded by O. Scott, that it be referred to a select committee, with instructions to report, at; as early a period as practicable. Dr. Bangs said that he had hoped that the subject of slavery would not come up at all before that body. But, he was now convinced that they could not blink it; that they had better meet it fairly,—therefore, he was in favor of the reference. It was accordingly referred to a committee of seven.

John Early said, the UNION could be preserved only by the influence of religious denominations.—The Episcopalians were respectable for intelligence, but their number was small. The Baptists had lost their bond of union, in their dissensions about immersion. The Presbyterians, though a large and influential denomination, were agitated from the centre to the



circumference by this 'afflicting subject,' (slavery.) The Methodist Episcopal Church had in her organization a bond of union, sufficiently strong to accomplish all that is desirable for the safety of the nation. She was looked to for unanimous action on this subject, and that action must be wholly to stop the agitation of it. Let abolitionism be denounced by her from Maine to Illinois, and it would place her on a commanding eminence that she had never yet enjoyed.

## LETTER FROM GEORGE STORRS,

On board Steam-Boat, Ohio river, }  
 May 27th, 1836. }

DEAR BROTHER BIRNEY—When I saw you night before last, I did not think of leaving Cincinnati without seeing you again. Circumstances which I will not stop now to detail, led me to determine to leave yesterday morning at 9 o'clock. I had not one moment to see you previous to going on board the boat.

I send you herewith a copy of the Protest, which we had intended to present to the General Conference, in the case of brother Norris and myself. The course taken with brother O. Scott, and the refusal of the Conference, to let those of us, who voted in the negative in that case, record our names on its journals, determined me, and the others, whom I had time to consult, to withhold the Protest from the Conference, and publish it at once.

The *censure* passed upon brother Norris and myself, inasmuch as I considered it an assumption of authority not belonging to the General Conference, determined me, that, so long as that censure rested upon me, I would not preach during its session, at any appointment made for me by the committee on preaching. For the first three weeks of my stay at Cincinnati, the committee gave me no appointment. After that, they appointed me to preach at Dr. Wilson's church Sabbath evening last. Immediately on learning the appointment, I addressed the following note to the chairman of that committee:

“Brother Swormstead—unless the vote of this General Conference, censuring two members of this body, as guilty of “unjustifiable conduct,” is *reconsidered* and *rescinded*, I shall feel myself under no obligation, to fill any appointment made for me, by the committee on preaching.

GEORGE STORRS.”

While brother Norris' and my case, was before the Conference, application was made by a Presbyterian minister, to the committee on preaching, for us to preach for him on Sabbath following. He was told that our case was under consideration, and it was not known, how it would be decided; and therefore, the committee refused the application. After it was decided, and we were pronounced guilty of “unjustifiable conduct,” I was read off to preach as above; [at Dr. Wilson's.] I did not choose to fulfil the appointment. I did, however, preach twice on that Sabbath, for the minister who

had petitioned for me the week previous. A hue and cry has been raised, I have been told, (and I have learned more particularly about it since I left Cincinnati,) that I preached *abolition right out*. I neither mentioned *abolition* nor *slavery*. I endeavored to encourage christians to obey God without wavering. If that was preaching *abolition*, why then I did preach it. I have come to the conclusion, that it is impossible for any man to preach the *whole* gospel and duty of man, without preaching the principles of abolition, whether he designs it or not. I have no other apology to make for a sermon, that seems to have disturbed the anti-abolitionists so much.

Yours in the Gospel of Liberty,  
GEORGE STORRS.

TO THE BISHOPS AND MEMBERS IN GENERAL CONFERENCE CONVENED AT CINCINNATI.

We, the undersigned, members of this General Conference, respectfully request that we may have the privilege of recording our Protest, on the journals of this Conference, against the doings and vote of this General Conference in the case of two members thereof, "who," to use the words of the Conference, "are reported to have lectured in this city, recently, upon, and in favor of, modern abolitionism." We protest against the doings of this General Conference, because we believe those doings were *unconstitutional*, anti-Methodistical, not warranted by the discipline of the church, and in opposition to the plain letter thereof.

In the first place, this Conference have taken up a "*report*" of the conduct of two members of this body, without *attempting* to *prove* that that *report* is true.—They have pronounced their conduct "*unjustifiable*;" and have proceeded to *resolve*. "That they disapprove, in the most *unqualified* sense, the conduct of two members of the General Conference, who are reported to have lectured in this city recently, upon, and in favor of modern abolitionism.

If the conduct of those two bretheren is *unjustifiable*, as this General Conference have said,—to say the least, it was "*imprudent conduct*," to use the language of our discipline. What then was the course to be pursued? Was it to bring their case at once before this body and condemn them, as guilty of "*unjustifiable conduct!*" We think not. In our discipline, Chapter 1, SECTION 18, *Question 2*. "What shall be done in cases of improper tempers, words or *actions*? *Answer*. The person so offending, shall be reprehended by his senior in office.—Should a second transgression take place, one two or three ministers or preachers are to be taken as witnesses. If he be not then cured, he shall be tried at the next annual Conference, and if found guilty and impenitent, shall be expelled from the connection, and his name so returned in the minutes of the Conference." The same section provides for "*an appeal* to the ensuing General Conference."

It is plain, that this General Conference in its action, in regard to the two members censured, have entirely overstepped *all* the *previous* steps directed to be taken by our discipline. We conceive, that it is clearly evident, that the General Conference has no such power; and that they have, by this act, done that, which is unconstitutional; for one of our "*restrictive rules*," so called, in Chapter 1, Sec. 3, numbered 5, expressly says, "They [the General Conference] shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers, of trial by a commit-

tee, and an appeal." And yet this General Conference has, to all intents and purposes, in the case of the two brethren *done away* that privilege, and at once *tried* and *condemned* them, as guilty of "*unjustifiable conduct*," by that body from which there is *no* appeal. However *unjustifiable* their conduct might have been considered to be, to us it is clear that this General Conference had no *constitutional* power to pass this *summary* sentence, by which ministers of our church are pronounced to be guilty of "unjustifiable conduct;" and then order it to be *published* in the public periodicals. These brethren had violated *no rule* or *regulation* of this General Conference. We, therefore *protest* against the doings of this General Conference in their case, and request that this protest may be recorded on the Journals of this Conference, and published in our periodicals with the doings of said Conference.

*Cincinnati, May, 1836.*

J. F. ADAMS,  
JARED PERKINS,  
C. D. CAHOON,  
ELIHU SCOTT,  
SAMUEL KELLY,  
E. J. SCOTT,  
SAMUEL NORRIS,  
SCHYLER CHAMBERLIN,  
GEORGE STORRS,

} Delegates from New Hampshire Conference.

J. A. MERRILL,  
ISAAC BONNY,  
CHARLES VERGIN,  
ORANGE SCOTT,  
PHINEAS CRANDALL.

} Delegates from New England Conference.





